HISTORY OF KOTA STATE

(Volume One)



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Author

Dr. Mathuralal Sharma

M.A., D.Litt.

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सत्यमेव जयते

अध्यक्ष, लोक सभा
SPEAKER, LOK SABHA
INDIA

Message

The republication of the remarkable work "**History of Kota State**" is a matter of great pride. This book is not just a chronicle of Kota's illustrious past, but a meaningful effort to connect the younger generation with its historical awareness, cultural richness, and social traditions.

Authored by the revered Dr. Mathuralal Sharma, this work reflects years of rigorous research and deep patriotism. Dr. Sharma was not only a historian but also a freedom fighter, a socio-cultural thinker, and a custodian of Hadoti's historical consciousness. The rare documents, manuscripts, and historical sources he compiled offer valuable insights into the history of not just Kota, but the entire region.

Kota is more than a city—it is a vibrant tradition and a cultural legacy shaped by its strong foundations in education, hard work, and arts. This book highlights Kota's historical character and distinct identity with clarity and depth.

Working with limited resources, Dr. Sharma sourced authentic material from across the country and presented it in a style that is both sensitive and engaging. His writing brings history to life—not merely as a sequence of events, but as a narrative enriched with thought and emotion.

The efforts of Dr. Vagisha Sharma, Dr. Manisha Sharma, Prisha Gupta, and other members of Dr. Sharma's family in bringing this volume back into print are truly commendable. It is a valuable step towards preserving Kota's cultural legacy. I am confident that this work will serve as a source of inspiration for scholars, history enthusiasts, and the youth, and will further strengthen the region's historical awareness.

I extend my best wishes to everyone involved in this endeavour.

(Om Birla)

Editor’s Note

This edition of *History of Kota State* is a translation of Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma’s original work *Kota Rajya Ka Itihas,* which was written in Hindi in 1939 CE*.* It is a part of a project to make Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma’s work accessible to the larger public by translating it into English. I hope that this edition continues to inspire inquiry, pride, and appreciation for Rajasthan’s rich and resilient heritage.

Editing *History of Kota State* has been a deeply personal and rewarding journey as this book is not just a historical account—it is a window into the spirit of a Kota State, its people, and their enduring legacies and preserving memories. A year ago, I had the privilege of getting a glimpse of Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma’s work by translating some of his articles in Duke University’s library from the *Journal of the Rajasthan Institute of Historical Research* into English. I approached the task of editing this book not just with academic interest, but with immense gratitude towards the people and stories it represents.

This edition has been translated with great sensitivity and emotions by my mother, Dr. Vagisha Sharma**.** Her curiosity led her to explore the meanings of Sanskrit, Persian, and Dingal texts. While the translations remain preliminary, being shaped by limited resources, they are open to further inquiry and interpretation. She worked on the book as a tribute to her father Sri Anand Mohan Sharma, who introduced her to the valor, culture, and governance of a proud Rajasthani kingdom. She has tried her best to retain Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma’s original voice while clarifying the language and structure for today’s readers. Some more pictures (courtesy of Mr. Abdul Hanif Ziad) also have been added to create interest.

I am thankful to the extremely knowledgeable and esteemed historians Dr. Arvind Saxena and Mr. Firoz Ahmed for their contributions and encouragement and invaluable guidance. I am similarly grateful to my mother for passing down the importance of culture, heritage, and remembrance of Kota, Rajasthan. By editing this book for a wider audience, I hope that readers love learning about Kota’s rich and deep history and stories of valor as much as

I did and ensure they are passed down to future generations—not as forgotten footnotes, but as living legacies.

Prisha Gupta
guptaprisha2026@gmail.com
Student of English and Asian & Middle Eastern Studies
Duke University, USA

Foreword

The legacy of historical writing is conceptualized and concretized in the seminal monograph *History of Kota State*, authored by the legendary historian Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma. This book unveils an era of the geographical region known as Hadoti, a region long overlooked by historians outside the boundaries of Rajasthan. Dr. Sharma was driven by a deep and personal desire to narrate the history of his native land—an account richly illustrated and authenticated by contemporary sources in Dingal, Sanskrit, Urdu, Persian, and Hindi, and further supported by coins, inscriptions, oral traditions, artifacts, archival records, and archaeological evidence. His study spans from the Meso-Proterozoic period (150 million to 100 million B.C.) to the period of his own lifetime.

The regions of Bundi, Kota, and Jhalawar first emerged in historical records under the name Pariyatra. This iconic work is a product of objective scholarship, composed with the expertise of multilingual researchers, and enriched by Dr. Sharma's access to state records during his tenure at the Mahakama Khas (the royal court or special department).

Foundational texts from this region, such as'Vansh Bhaskar'by Kaviraj Suryamall Mishran and 'Kota Rajya' by Thakur Laxman Danji Mahiyariya, have been extensively utilized to illuminate the intertwined histories of Hadoti, Rajasthan, and India. The enduring legacy of Rajput polity, its aristocratic elegance, and the vibrant culture of the masses through the ages have been insightfully documented, showing their profound influence on successive generations.

This work also includes accurate conversions of dates from the Vikram Samvat calendar to the Gregorian (Christian) calendar. It preserves the original names of princes, explores the technical vocabulary related to social behavior and structures, and applies modern

techniques of abbreviation and citation to construct a narrative both historically faithful and academically robust.

The writer of these lines has had the blessed opportunity to focus on the philosophy of history, the art of historiographical composition, and the virtue of compiling archival and modern sources alongside the original Dingal narratives written by bards, jagas, padvas, Kunwar Mangas, and Rani Mangas.

I sign off by aligning this work with the philosophy of Prof. Benedetto Croce, who believed that history is the vital link between the past and the present.

Dr Arvind Saxena
Historian, Researcher
Bhartiya Itihaas Sankalan Samiti
Guest Faculty, History Department, Kota University,Rajasthan ,India
Retired Vice Principal, Government Higher Education, Rajasthan ,India

Foreword

It is with great respect and admiration that I present this remarkable work,translation of a book in Hindi *"Kota Rajya Ka Itihas"*, a detailed and rigorously researched account of the history of Kota State. Dr Mathura Lal Sharma's commitment to archival precision, engagement with regional sources, and sensitivity to local traditions makes this book an invaluable contribution to the field of South Asian historiography.

I commend the author for this outstanding contribution and recommend this book not only to scholars and students of history but to all those interested in understanding the diverse foundations of India's heritage.

Firoz Ahmed
Historian, Kota,Rajasthan, India
Author-" Hadoti Itihas Lekhmala"
Founder of "Itihas and Kala Parishad" Council, dedicated to

regional history and art.



His Highness Maharajadhiraj Maharaj Mahimahendra
Maharao Raja Colonel Sir
Umedsinghji Sahib Bahadur G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., LL.D.
Samvat- 1819-1940

Preface

The Chauhan dynasty holds a prominent place among the Kshatriyas. Prithviraj Chauhan was a renowned emperor of India. Vishaldev Chauhan ruled a vast region extending from Himachal to Vindhyachal. Hamirdev Chauhan displayed unparalleled bravery in his battles against Alauddin Khilji. At its peak, the Chauhan dynasty governed over 1.25 lakh villages in Rajputana. In terms of territorial expansion, bravery, righteousness, love for art, and interest in learning, many Chauhan kings stand as illustrious figures in the annals of Indian history.

The dynasty of Kota is a famous branch of the Chauhan dynasty which is known as Hada Rajputs, and the state of Kota is the largest Chauhan state at present. What is the significance of this dynasty in Indian history? What achievements did it accomplish during the rise and fall of the Mughals, the triumphs of the Marathas, and the expansion of British rule? What policies did it adopt, what progress did it make, and how did the political circumstances of the time impact it? Readers will discover the answers to these questions in the following pages. The importance of this book in the context of Indian history will be determined by the discerning readers. In my humble opinion, it will certainly shed light on some of the obscure aspects of our history.

The events mentioned in this book are based on authentic sources, including reliable books and government documents, which have been appropriately cited. The opinions expressed about various situations and individuals are the result of thorough study, but I take sole responsibility for them. While the book has been supported by the government, particularly in collecting material from government offices, the views expressed throughout are entirely those of the author. The government's stance, however, is determined by its official policies.The word 'ji' has not been used after the names of kings throughout this book. While printing, the “respectful term” has been included before the names of certain notable individuals. However, in the natural flow of language, it has been omitted in some places both

in writing and printing. To maintain a tone of respect, plural verbs (as used in Hindi) have been consistently used where appropriate.

I received invaluable assistance from the esteemed Babu Chunnilal Shukla during my visits to government offices. I am also deeply grateful to Pandit Badrilal Sahityaratna, Lala Kishanlal, and Lala Prabhulal for their support and help.

Anant Chaturdashi, Samvat 1996 (1939 CE)

Mathura Lal Sharma

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1

Resources of History

Six Divisions - The sources of history of Kota State can be divided into six categories. (1**) Old Offices** -Old offices of Kota State, Indore, Gwalior, Thikana Sarola, Thikana Kotri and Jaipur State, (2) **Archaeology** - Inscriptions, Royal Decrees, Leases, Copper Plates, Ancient Temples and Forts, Statues and Coins,(3)**Unpublished History**- Genealogies of Badwas and Bhats, Unpublished Histories written by the State, Histories of Kota State written independently, History of Bundi State and Histories of other Rajput States, (4)**Persian Histories** written during the Mughal period, (5) **Histories of the Peshwas' Office** and other Maratha States of that time, (6) **Modern Histories of Kota State** written in English language.

(1) Old Offices

(a) Office of Kota State - The most reliable historical material is found in the old accounting papers of the offices of Kota State. Numerous storehouses are filled with these papers, which are meticulously arranged according to subject and Samvat (the traditional Indian calendar). Among these, the most valuable documents from a historical perspective are the papers of Seega Mutafarrikat, covering the period from Samvat 1692 to Samvat 1930. These papers are compiled into approximately 125 volumes, organized chronologically by Samvat. These records contain incidental yet significant references to various subjects, including goods, zakat, the army, Punyaarth (religious donations), Kamthan, travel, marriage, death, hospitality, pets, punishment, forgiveness, and management. Although these references are not systematically documented for historical purposes, they hold immense value due to their authenticity, as they are part of the daily accounting records and, therefore, beyond

dispute.The papers of other Seegas (community) are of lesser historical significance. However, if papers related to goods, forests, customs, and taxes are studied in detail, they may provide additional insights into history. Nevertheless, their study is unlikely to alter the broader framework of historical narratives.

(b) Munshi Khana, Kota - This office houses a collection of old papers, though they are not well-organized. Some letters from the Maratha period, written in the Modi Marathi script, are valuable for historical research, primarily as they pertain to the accounts of the annual Khandani (tribute). Among the notable documents in this collection is a fascinating letter from Lord Ellenborough related to the Afghan War. Additionally, copies of the birth horoscopes of Rao Ratan and Rao Madhosinghji are of significant historical value.

(c) Mahkma Khas, Kota - The papers from Samvat 1933 to 1951 in this office provide valuable material for historical research. Most of these documents are written in Urdu and are bound in paper. They are particularly useful for understanding the history of the Council period.

(d) Indore State Office - Mr. Vibhute has compiled nine books by studying and organizing the old papers of Indore State. These books, though still unpublished, are safely stored in the library of the 'Foreign Department' of the Holkar Government. With the gracious support of Vizier-ud-Daulah Sir Sirimal Bapna, the Prime Minister of the Holkar Government, the author was granted access to these rare and valuable books to collect necessary material. This collection includes numerous letters written by Zalim Singh to Ahilyabai Holkar and Jaswantrao Holkar. It also contains many documents related to the assistance provided by the Kota and Bundi States to the British Government during the Pindari War and the Maratha Wars of CE 1803–1804 and 1818. While the author has not been able to fully utilize this material due to time constraints, essential and significant information has been gathered.

(e) Old office of Thikana Sarola - This office is invaluable for studying the history of Kota State. No other office in Kota State is as well-organized and well-preserved as the office of this Thikana. Balaji Yashwant, the founder of this place, began residing in Kota city in 1738 CE as the Peshwa's envoy, with the permission of Scindia. After Balaji Yashwant, his son Lalaji Ballal succeeded him as the envoy. During this period, the Kota State began paying taxes to five Maratha Sardar (chief). All correspondence with these Sardar was handled through the envoy's office. As a result, all the letters written by these Sardar to their envoys, to Jhala Zalim Singh, or directly to the kings of Kota regarding Kota State are preserved in the office of Thikana Sarola. Some of these letters have been edited and published in chronological order by Shriyut Anand Rao Bhau Phalke in two parts under the title 'Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane'. While letters must have been sent to the Maratha Sardar on behalf of Kota State through these envoys, unfortunately, their copies were not retained in the office. However, a few of these letters have been located in the library of the 'Foreign Department' of Indore State.

(f) Office of Thikana Kotri - A valuable handwritten history of Kota State, along with many significant letters, was discovered in this office. The offices of Gwalior and Jaipur States likely also contain useful material; however, the author was unable to access or utilize these resources.

(2) Archaeology

(a) Inscriptions etc. - Inscriptions can be found in almost every village of this state. Most of them are memorials dedicated to satis and heroes, and only a few mention the name of the ruler. Such inscriptions hold limited significance for historical research. However, there are hundreds of inscriptions that provide valuable insights into the political, social, and religious conditions of their time. The oldest inscriptions discovered are from Badwa village near Antey, dating back to Vikram Samvat 295. Following this, important inscriptions from the fifth, sixth, eighth, ninth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries have been identified, along with hundreds of

inscriptions from subsequent centuries that cannot be overlooked. The inscriptions from the second to the fourteenth centuries are associated with Rajput clans such as the Maukhari, Maurya, Gupta, Naga, Parmar, and Bhed. Some inscriptions from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries pertain to the Khinchi and Gaud Rajputs, but they are of limited historical value. In contrast, the inscriptions from the early seventeenth century onward, related to the kings of Bundi and Kota and to Jhala Zalim Singh, are highly significant and provide critical information for understanding the history of Kota State.

(b) Ancient temples and buildings - There are many old temples and forts in Ramgarh, Krishnavilas, Atru, Vichars, Bhimgarh, Dara, Charchauma, Mau, Budadit, and Kanwas that reflect the civilization, culture, and art of the fifth to the fourteenth centuries. Structures built after the fourteenth century are generally not noteworthy. However, the forts constructed by Zalim Singh exemplify the art of the eighteenth century and highlight the political unrest of that era. Numerous statues have also been discovered at locations such as Ramgarh, Vilas, Shahabad, Baran, Atru, and Charchauma, which hold significant value for the study of medieval Hindu history, particularly from religious and social perspectives. Additionally, some idols of deities include useful inscriptions and articles that provide further historical insights.

(c) Coins—Numerous coins from the Gupta period, Hun period, and medieval period have been discovered in this state. Coins issued by the Sultans of Mandu and the Pathan kings of Delhi have also been found. Additionally, gold and silver coins from Akbar's reign are preserved by many individuals.

(d) Copper Plates and Leases, etc. - Many copper plates have been found in Kota State, and the number of leases is even greater. These documents provide valuable insights into the ruling style and politics of the time. However, many of the copper plates are believed to be forgeries, so caution must be exercised when using them. Approximately eight hundred copper plates and leases have been studied in the preparation of this history. Several royal decrees have

been found with Lala Bhanwarlal Karkun and Shahar Qazi. Lala Bhanwarlal possesses the Jahangiri decree for the Chaudharai and qanungoi of Kota. Shahar Qazi holds some royal decrees related to Qazat (judicial system) and other matters. Additionally, in the old office records, there is a decree from Emperor Farrukhsiyar issued in the name of Maharao Bhimsinghji.

(3) Books of Bhaats and Handwritten Unpublished History

(a) Odes- Generally, the books of Barwas and Bhaats can be quite useful for historical research. However, the books found in this state are not very helpful. These books primarily contain legends or merely praise the valor of certain kings. The factual events mentioned in them are often found in other sources. Based on these books, a brief and incomplete history of Kota State was written in the early nineteenth century, in the language and script of Kota. This history is still preserved in the old office records of the fort. It is possible that the history was written by the king, but this remains speculative. Therefore, this work has not been utilized for this study.

(b) History of Thakur Laxmandan

Thakur Laxmandan of Atraliya wrote a history during the reign of Maharao Shatrusalji, which was never published. The author has obtained a handwritten copy of this work from the office of the learned Jagirdar Kaviraja Durgadanji of Kotri. In the introduction to this book, Thakur Laxmandan states, "As per the order of Shriji Huzoor, after extensive research from many historical texts, ancient books, and old office records, I have described the country's situation in detail due to the length of history." This book is primarily based on the Vanshbhaskar of Surajmal Mishran, a resident of Bundi, but Thakur Laxmandan also incorporated material from his own research. The content derived from this history has been appropriately utilized in this work.

(c) History of Ramkaran

A Pandit named Ramkaran wrote an interesting historical account of the villages and towns of Kota State, probably in the early nineteenth century. The language of the original text

is unknown, but the author has obtained its Urdu translation, which is highly useful. Pandit Ramkaran toured the southern and some eastern parts of Kota State, diligently searching for inscriptions in every village. He included translations of the inscriptions he found in his book. While the inclusion of legends and folklore reduces its historical value, the book still contains valuable material for the history of Kota State.

(d) Tod – Rajasthan

The first published history of Kota State is found in *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Colonel James Tod. Colonel Tod extensively traveled across Rajasthan and, as a representative of the British Government, interacted with all the kings and numerous jagirdars. He was well-acquainted with Jhala Zalim Singh and was the Rakhiband brother of the widowed mother of the child Rao Raja Ramsinghji of Bundi. Although Colonel Tod had access to many resources for writing history, he lacked the time to conduct detailed research specifically on Kota State. As a result, the portion of his work covering the period before the Treaty of 1818 CE relies heavily on oral traditions and is riddled with inaccuracies, making parts of it unreliable. However, Tod provides an engaging and detailed account of the policies, governance, and conduct of Jhala Zalim Singh**.** Colonel Tod personally witnessed the conflict between Jhala Zalim Singh and Maharao Kishoresinghji and made several attempts to mediate. Consequently, the history he documents for the period after 1818CE is generally reliable and authentic.

(e) Vanshbhaskar - In Samvat 1897, Surajmal Mishran wrote a detailed poetic history of Bundi State called *Vanshbhaskar*, which also mentions several kings of Kota. The book is divided into four parts, spanning a total of 4,043 pages. While the first two parts hold limited significance for historical research, the third and fourth parts are rich in material useful not only for the history of Bundi, Kota, and Rajputana but also for the broader history of India. Most references to Kota State in this book are reliable and credible.

(f) Stratton History - In 1902 CE, Major W. Stratton authored a 38-page booklet titled *A Short History of Kota*

State, primarily based on Colonel Tod's work. Only the last 10 pages of the booklet contain original content, offering a brief and rudimentary account of the administration under Nawab Faiz Ali Khan**,** Colonel Paulet**,** Colonel Bailey, and the first twelve years of the reign of the then-current king.

(g) Munshi Moolchand's History - In Samvat 1975 (CE 1918), *Tawaarikh Rajya Kota Hissa Awwal* by the Nazim of Kota State, Munshi Moolchand was published in which "the circumstances of the rule of eight Maharajgans from Maharaja Madhav Bani Riyasat to Maharaja Durjanshal, (i.e., historical events from Samvat Vikram 1674 to 1813) are recorded." Munshi Moolchand has written his book on the basis of books like *Waqu-e-Rajputana, Tawaarikh-e-Farishta, Akbarnama, Iqbalnama, Jahangiri, Badshahnama, Alamgirnama, Siar-ul-Mutakhareen, Waqu-e-Niyamatkhan Ali* and *Jangnama Niamatkhan Ali*. It is sad that he could not publish the second part of this useful book. On comparing it with the documents of office accounts and inscriptions, some mistakes are found in this book but considering the time and resources of the author, this history is praiseworthy and is very useful from the point of view of historical material.

(h) Charitra Ratnavali - Munshi Moolchand, in his book, has mentioned a book named *Charitra Ratnavali* and has written that it contains biographies of the kings of Bundi and describes the early life of Maharao Madhosinghji, the founder of Kota state and his bravery during the siege of Burhanpur. On the basis of this book, he has given the date of birth of Madhosinghji. This date of birth has been ascertained on the basis of the birth chart, but if the book named Charitra Ratnavali could be found, there was a possibility of finding out useful and knowable things. It is a pity that despite a lot of effort, this book could not be found.

(i) Vansh Prakash - This book has been written by Pandit Ganga Sahay on the basis of *Vanshbhaskar* and it contains a brief history of Bundi. Many events related to the history of Kota state are mentioned in it, but this book does not contain more material than *Vanshbhaskar*. Its usefulness is only that it is a prose book and is free from the ornamentation of *Vanshbhaskar*.

(j) History of Udaipur - A lot of material is found for Kota state in the history of Udaipur. These two royal families have had mutual familial relations for many generations, so Kota must be mentioned in the history of Udaipur. There are many histories of Udaipur state, but only three are authentic histories till now:- Colonel James Todd's *Rajasthan Vol. 1*, *Veer Vinod* by Kaviraja Shyamal Das, and *Udaipur History* by Rai Bahadur Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. The author has made full use of Veer Vinod. Both these books, Tod's *Rajasthan Vol. 1* and *Udaipur History* by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha, are very useful. These books are very useful for the history of Kota state, especially for the last part of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century.

(4) Persian histories written during the Mughal period

There are many reliable histories of the Mughal period which were written by the scholars of that time either on the orders of the government or on their own initiative. The state of Kota was established during the reign of Jahangir and till the time of Farrukhsiyar, it was under the Mughals. Hence, the Persian histories of this period are very useful. Among these histories, the following are especially useful for the history of the state of Kota:

Iqbalnama Jahangiri - Its author is Mu'tamad Khan. Maulvi Abdul Hai and Ahmed Ali have edited this book under the supervision of Major W.N. Lees and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta has published it in its series of books called *Bibliotheca Indica*. The bravery of Raoratan during the siege of Burhanpur is described in this book. It is also useful for the biography of Rao Madhosinghji.

Tuzuke Jahangiri - This is the autobiography of Jahangir and was edited by Sayyids Ahmed in 1863 CE. Rogers and Bivoris have translated it into English. In this book, Sir Buland Rai i.e. Raoratan has been mentioned in praise at many places.

Badshahnama - This book was written by Abdul Hamid Lahori on the orders of Emperor Shahjahan. It has been published by the Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta in the

Bibliotheca Indica series. This book is very useful for the biography of Rao Madhosinghji, the founder of Kota state. The extraordinary bravery displayed by Rao Madhosinghji in the war of Bundelkhand, the siege of Kandhar and the war of Balkh and Badakhshan is described in this book. This author has also mentioned the thrilling bravery of Rao Mukandsinghji and his four brothers in the war of Dharmat.

Amle Saleh - Its author is Muhammad Saleh Kamboh and editor is Ghulam Majkani. This book has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series by the Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta. It has a detailed description of the mutual fight between 's sons for the throne and the bravery of Rao Mukandsinghji and his brother Mohansinghji is specially mentioned.

Alamgeer Nama - Its author is Mirza Nizam Muhammad Kazmi and this book has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series by the Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta. It has a mention of the bravery of Rao Jagatsinghji in the battle of Khajwa between Aurangzeb and Shuja and the bravery of Rao Kishoresinghji during the siege of Hyderabad.

Nuskha-e-Dilkash - This history was written by Bhimsen Kayastha who was with the royal army in the war of the south and in Jajab. A handwritten copy of this book is in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna. It describes the death of Rao Jagatsinghji in the battle of Hyderabad and Rao Ramsinghji in the battle of Jajab.

Muntakhab -ul-Lubab - This history was written with great effort by Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan. It has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series by the Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta. It describes the bravery of Rao Jagatsinghji in the siege of Hyderabad, entry of Maharao Bhimsinghji in the palaces of Farrukhsiyar, Maharao Bhimsinghji's fight with Budhsinghji, Maharao Bhimsinghji's war for the acquisition of Bundi state and his death.

Maasi-re Alamgiri - written by Muhammad Safi Mustaid Khan and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* book series by the Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta, describes the bravery of Kishoresinghji, which he displayed in the siege of Bijapur before ascending the throne.

Ibaratnama - written by Kamaraj. It describes the death of Maharao Ramsinghji while fighting with extraordinary bravery in the battle of Jajav.

Tazkira or Ibartanama - written by Mirza Muhammad. It mentions two meetings between Maharao Bhimsinghji and a powerful Mughal chieftain named Sarbuland Khan of the Mughal court at that time.

Tazkirat Ussalatin Chughtaiya - written by Kamdar Khan. It describes the conquest of Bundi by Maharao Bhimsinghji and Dilawar Khan.

Siwaneh Khijri - written by Muhammad Umar. It states that Dilawar Khan plundered Kota and Bundi on the orders of the emperor.

Ibaratnama - written by Muhammad Qasim Lahori. It mentions the war fought by Maharao Bhimsinghji with Nizam-ul Mulk.

Ahbab-ul-Khawaqin - written by Muhammad Qasim Aurangabadi. It also mentions the above-mentioned war.

Mirat Ussfa - Its author is not known. It describes the war fought between Maharao Durjanshalji of Kota and Malharrao Holkar near Bhopal.

Maasir-ul-Umra - Its author is Nawab ShamShuddaula Shahnawaz Khan. He was a contemporary of Maharao Durjanshalji. This book was edited by Maulvi Mirza Ashraf Ali and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This book contains brief biographies of famous Kota kings from Madhosinghji to Durjanshalji. This book is written on the basis of royal histories.

(5) Peshwaon Ka Daftar (Peshwa Office), History of Maratha States

(a) History of Indore and Gwalior - These are useful for the history of Kota State. There are many histories of Indore State, and many biographies of Malharrao Holkar, Ahilya Bai Holkar and Jaswantrao Holkar, but the most useful are nine handwritten books by Mr. Vibhute.

(b) Selections from the Peshwa Daftar - Shriyut G. S. Sardesai has edited many papers of the Peshwas' office in

45 parts which have been published by the Bombay Government. Many of these parts are very useful for the history of Kota and Bundi state. These papers especially throw good light on the battle of Bhatwada, the battle of Mahajan and the efforts of Maharao Ummed Singhji of Bundi to gain control.

(c) The series of books named 'MarathayaChya Itihasachi Sadhane' is also useful. There are 21 books in this series which have been edited by Shriyut B.K. Rajwada with the help of many other scholars. These books give a good idea of the policy of the Maratha chiefs towards the Rajput states. Somewhere in these, Kota and Bundi are also mentioned.

(6) Modern history written in English language - Material has been collected from many books in the English language. The names of all these are given in the list of base texts. The main books are as follows:

A History of Marathas – written by J.G. Duff. This book describes the wars in which the armies of Kota state and once the king of Kota himself fought on the Mughals' side. It also tells how the Kota state abandoned the Mughals and accepted the suzerainty of the Marathas.

History of India – written by Sir H. Elliot, Volume 5, 6, 7, 8. It contains English translations of special parts of Persian Tawarikhs.

History of Aurangzeb – written by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. It briefly mentions the events related to Rao Madhosinghji, Rao Mukandsinghji, Rao Kishoresinghji and Rao Ramsinghji, which are described in detail in the above Persian Tawarikhs.

Jahangir – written by Veniprasad. In this book, on the basis of Iqbalnama and Tuzuke Jahangiri, some lines have been written about Kota and Bundi state, but they do not throw any special light on the history of Kota state.

Later Mughals - written by William Irvine. This book is the history from 1707 to 1739 CE. The brief references about Rao Ramsinghji and Maharao Bhimsinghji in this book are authentic and reliable, but its author had very little knowledge about Kota and Bundi. Even William Irvine considers Maharao

Bhimsinghji to be the king of Bundi. But even then the usefulness of this book can't be underestimated.

Fall of the Mughal Empire - written by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. These two volumes contain the history from 1739 to 1771 CE.The famous author has described the entry of Marathas in Rajputana, the enmity between Kota and Jaipur, and the battle of Bhatwada with evidence.

A History of the Indian Mutiny - written by G. W. Forest. This book describes the revolt of 1857 CE from the English point of view. Forest has described in detail how the English army saved the city of Kota from the rebels.

Apart from the above mentioned books, there are references to the state of Kota in many other books, but they are not authentic and original. The names of all these are given in the list of base books.

2
Geographical Description Of Kota State

Location - Kota State is situated in the south-east direction of Rajputana province between 24°,7' and 25,51' north and 75,37' and 77°,26' east lines. At present the area of this state is about 5,684 square miles. To its north is Jaipur State and Aligarh Pargana of Tonk State. To the west are the states of Bundi and Udaipur. To the south-west is Rampura

Bhanpura Pargana of Indore State, Jhalavar State and Agar Tehsil of Gwalior State. To its south are the states of Khilchipur and Rajgarh. To the east is Gwalior State and Chhabada Pargana of Tonk State. The length of this state from north to south is about 115 miles and the width from east to west is about 110 miles. The shape of this country is like a quadrilateral. It can be called a part of Malwa province, which gradually slopes towards the north from the Malwa valley.

Natural Lands – Naturally, the Kota state is divided into three type of lands – hilly, forested and fertile. The hilly part starts from the south of Kota city and reaches the eastern border of Nizamat Manoharthana. This southern part is the northern part of the Malwa valley. It also has fertile land, but mountain ranges and small hills are spread widely. In common parlance, it is called Malvi area. This part is to the south of the Dara mountain range and its area is almost equal to one-fourth of the entire state. At present, there are Nizamats of Chhipabaraud, Manoharthana, Aklera, Bakani, Chechat and Asnawar in this part and a series of mountains, streams and ravines are spread. Maize, sesame, cotton and opium are grown here, and many people rear animals. Due to the mountains and rivers and good rainfall, there is no shortage of grass and water here. Apart from this, there are many wells here, due to these reasons, famines are less in this area.

Forest area - This area is towards the east of Parvati river. Its land is less suitable for agriculture. Therefore, the residents here usually survive by rearing animals. This is the reason that the population here is only 48 people per square mile. The residents here survive by producing grass, wood, mahua, gum, honey, wax, etc. from the forest. Good wood is not available in the forest which can become a means of prosperity. The climate of some parts is so polluted that despite having land suitable for agriculture and water for drinking and irrigating the crops, it is not inhabited. Its western part, which is connected to the fertile area, is well inhabited.

Fertile part - This part is situated between Chambal, Parvati and Anderi rivers and the mountain ranges of Dara and Kotriyat. At present it includes Baran, Anta, Mangraul,

Etawah, Badod, Deegod, Laadpura, Kanwas, Sangod, Khanpur and Kunjed, Nizamats. Most of this part is plain and is very fertile. Its population is 131 people per square mile. All types of farming are done here and its climate is also good.

Mountains — The main mountain of this state is Dara or Mukandara. It is 1,400 to 1,600 feet high and spreads from north west to south east in the southern part of the state, and its length is about 90 miles. Its natural formation is strange. It is in the form of two parallel mountain ranges whose middle part is about 3 miles wide at some places. Between these two ranges there is a dense and beautiful forest and at some places there is cultivable land. The mountain ranges are covered with small trees and bushes. There are some hills in Indragarh towards the north whose height is more than 1,500 feet, but the highest hill is in the area of Shahabad in the east of this state which is called Mamuni hill and is 1,800 feet high. The mountain named Barhapati is situated between the Nizamats of Sangod, Kunjed and Khanpur. The mountain of Ramgarh is on the bank of the river Kool in Kishanganj Nizamat and its formation is very beautiful. The circular range like a necklace surrounds several square miles of beautiful forest, in which there is only a small path to enter. The series of small hills are spread in the Nizamats of Chhipabaraud, Manoharthana, Bakani, Asnawar and Aklera in the southern part of the state.

Rivers - The main rivers of this state are Chambal, Kalisindh, Aau, Nevaj, Parvan, Parvati, Anderi, and Kuno. All these rivers originate from the Malwa valley and collect water from many small tributary rivers originating from the southern part of Kota state and finally form Chambal. Chambal enters Kota state from the west at Bhainsrod and flows from west Kota, first separating Bundi state from west side and then separating Jaipur from north side. Below Kota city it is very deep and wide. In the history of medieval and present India, this river has many times become the battlefield of fierce conflict and bloodshed. Kali Sindh enters Kota state from the south and flows for about 35 miles separating Kota state from Gwalior, Indore, Jhalawar states. After meeting Aahu river, it flows in the north direction cutting through the Darra

mountain and meets Chambal near Pipalda village. Parvati is a tributary of Chambal. For about 48 miles it separates Kota State from Gwalior State and Chhabra Pargana of Tonk State, and then flows in Kota State for about 40 miles. Near Atru, Anderi River joins it. A dam has been built on it and a canal has been drawn from it which irrigates the land of about 40 villages. Both Parvan and Ujaad rivers meet in Kalisindh. Kuno is a small river of Shahabad area.

Climate - The climate of Kota state is intense. It is extremely hot here during summers and the temperature has sometimes reached 119 degrees. It is very cold during autumn. Malaria is prevalent in many parts. The forest area is so despicable from the climatic point of view that despite having water and fertile land, very few people live there. The average rainfall here is about 33 inches. In 1916, Shahabad received 71 inches of rainfall.

Population - The descendants of Aryan and Scythian castes live in Kota state. Due to centuries of blood mixing, it is difficult to say at current times, who are the pure descendants of Aryans and who are of Scythians. Gujars, Meenas, Karads, etc. seem to be the descendants of Scythians or Gurjars and Huns. Kshatriyas, Brahmins and Vaishyas probably have more Aryan blood. Bhil, Chamar, Bole etc. castes seem to be Dravidians. From the point of view of facial features and language, the residents of this state can be divided into Aryan, Scythian, Hun, Gurjar and Dravidian castes; but it cannot be said that a particular caste has not been mixed by the blood of some other caste. The population is divided into many castes from the social point of view, which can be broadly divided into four categories – Brahmin; Kshatriya; Vaishya,farmers, or labourers; and Muslims. Meena, Dhakad, Karad, Mali, Lodha, Bhil, Bola and Chamar etc. are included in the farmer category. The civilization and culture of these people is very different from other people and their religious thoughts and behavior are mostly non-Aryan. It is true that now due to education, propaganda and other modern facilities, this difference is slowly disappearing. The civilization of castes like blacksmith, barber, tailor, cobbler and Khaati etc. is similar to that of the upper castes. The population of this state was

5,44,879 in 1901 CE, 6,39,089 in 1911 CE, 6,30,060 in 1921 CE and 6,85,804 in 1931 CE. In 1921, Hindus were 5,78,979 and Muslims were 43,626. In 1931, Hindus were 6,34,610 and Muslims were 47,068. Due to unhealthy climate, lack of commerce and forested and hilly areas, the population here does not increase much. For some time, people from other states have come and settled in this state for jobs, contracting and business, but their number is very less.

Language - The language of Kota state is similar to Gujarati in terms of pronunciation and grammar. Sanskrit and Prakrit words are abundant in the language here. There are some Urdu words as well which have been included during the rule of Muslims. There are some such features in the pronunciation style which are neither related to Sanskrit language nor to Persian. There are some words which cannot be related to any Aryan or Semitic language. From this, it can be assumed that the language of Kota state may have a hybrid of the language of Hun, Gurjar or any other foreign race.

3
Archaeology Of Kota State



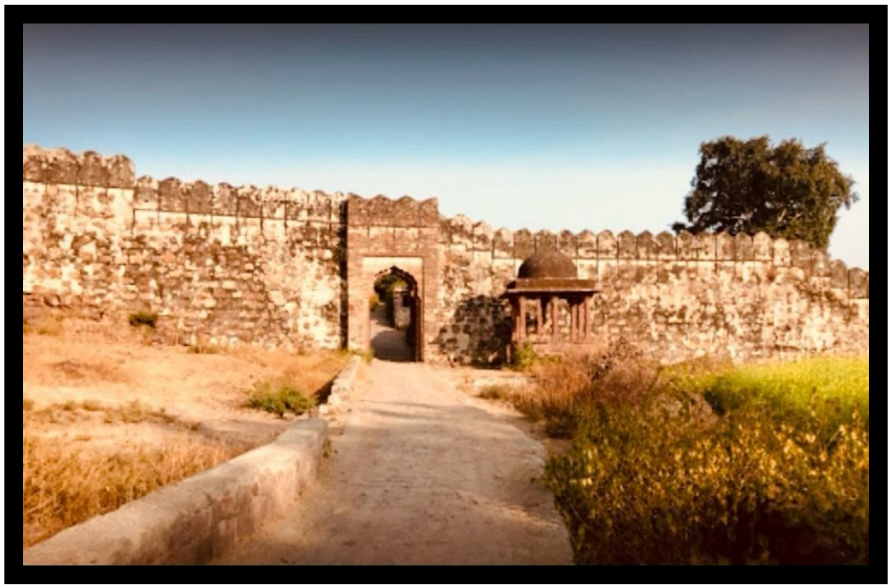
Yupa Inscription pillars of Badwa Samvat 294, (238 CE). They date from the Maukhari Dynasty, are carved with Brahmi script, and were brought to the Government museum Kota in 1946 CE from Badwa village in Baran district.



The Shiva temple of Charchauma (around 7th century CE)
There is a four-faced Shivling inside the temple, which is very similar to the idols of the Gupta period.

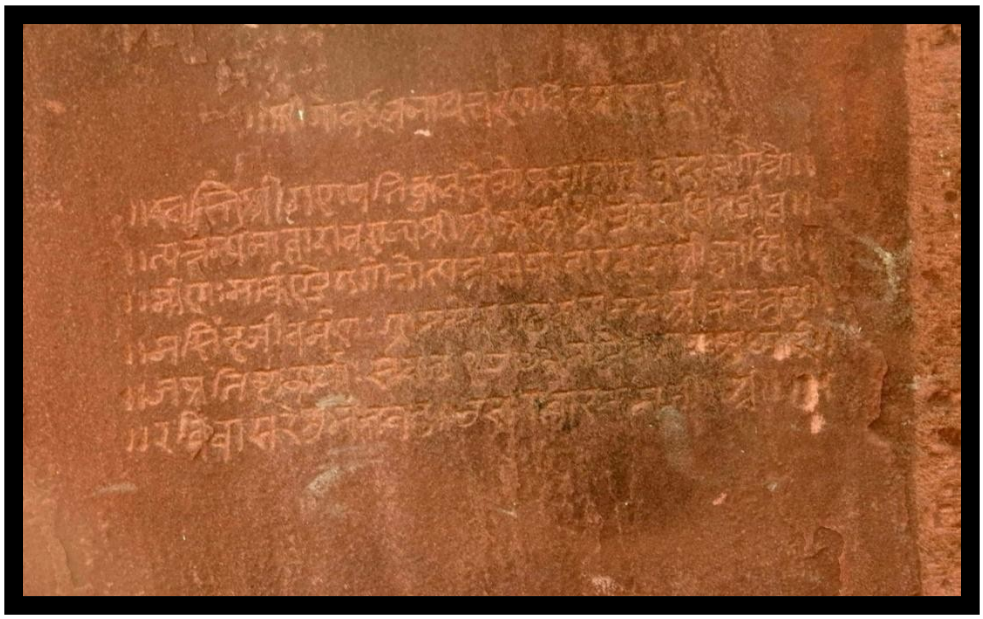


Inscription on the Door of the Temple of Charchauma
(around 7th century CE)



Shergarh fort Baran

Situated on the banks of the Parvan River, the town was originally known as Kosavardhana and was later renamed Shergarh after its capture by Sher Shah of the Sur dynasty during his Malwa campaign.



Inscriptions of Shergarh

The fort is renowned for several inscriptions that provide insights into its rich past. 790 CE



Bhim Chauri Dara, Kota

Bhim Chauri is an ancient Shiva temple located in Dara, Kota, Rajasthan. The temple, believed to be from the Gupta period (4th–6th century CE), is now in ruins but holds significant historical and archaeological importance. The remnants suggest intricate carvings and architectural grandeur typical of the Gupta era, known for its temple-building advancements. Legends associate the temple with Bhima, one of the Pandavas from the Mahabharata, possibly contributing to its name. The site is of interest to historians and devotees alike, reflecting the rich Shaivite traditions of ancient India.



Sculpture or carving of a Jhallari, **Bheemchauri Temple, Dara (Kota)**

(Indian percussion-string instrument) musician**,** Gupta period (4th–6th century CE), which is quite unique and reflects the rich cultural and musical heritage of ancient Rajasthan.



Kakoni Temple, Baran

Remains of Shiva and Jain temple sculptures at Kakoni (Baran) The temples are believed to date back to the 8th–9th centuries CE, during the Gupta or post-Gupta period. It's one of the hidden archaeological gems of the region.



Jain Temple, Shergarh, Baran

The Jain temple located in Shergarh (Baran) is a beautiful example of 18th- century architecture.



Krishna Vilas, Baran

The ruins of Krishna Vilas in Baran date back to the 9th to 11th century.



Bhand-devra Mandir Ramgarh, Baran
The ancient temple "Bhand Devra" dates back to the 10th–12th century and was built by King Malay Varma.



Garhgach Mandir Atru, Baran

The ruins of Garhgach temples from the 10th and 11th centuries



Ramgarh Fort

The fort is believed to have been originally built by Raja Ramsingh of the Khinchi Rajput clan, likely around the 10th–11th century. Raja Ramsingh, after whom the fort and surrounding area (Ramgarh) are named, is said to have built or significantly fortified the original structure. He established Ramgarh as his capital.



Kishoree Ganj area of Kota city, 17th century

This area is believed to be one of the earliest settled zones before the modern city expanded—possibly pre-Hada Rajput era. The site

sits near the banks of the Chambal River, which has historically been a crucial lifeline and sacred river. Some sculptures have Gupta or early medieval stylistic features, suggesting this area was a religious site before the rise of Kota as a princely capital. The Kishoree Ganj site is important for archaeologists because it provides clues to urban planning and temple construction before the formal establishment of Kota city by the Hadas in the 17th century.



Kanya Dah Mandir – 10-11 Century

The princess of Khechi kingdom preferred death over being his queen of Aurangjeb, and hence, committed suicide. The place where she chose to end her life is now known as ‘Kanya Dah’



Mandargarh, Mandana, Kota

The ruins of the ancient "Mandargarh" temple, specifically the Shiva temple, date back to the 12th century. Here, the Malwa ruler King Naravarman had built the Shiva temples.

3
Archaeology Of Kota State

Kota state is an important state from the point of view of archaeology. Here, inscriptions, temples and ruins of cities from the third century to the seventeenth century are present, which have a good impact on the cultural aspect of the history of that time. These ruins have not been adequately inspected and studied yet. Some archaeologists of the Indian government have visited and seen some easily accessible places, and similarly the author has seen only the famous places. Fortunately, he has come to know of some such places whose importance and grandeur had vanished in the womb of oblivion. The few places which have been seen cannot be described in full here due to lack of space and fear of expansion. A separate book can be written for this. Therefore,

in this chapter, only a glimpse of archaeology has been given by describing two main places.

Four Yupas of Bal Mokhari - In Anta, there is a place at a distance of about 3 furlongs (approximately 7 miles) to the east from the village named Barwa, which is famous by the name of Tham-Toran. There are three stone Yupas at this place, out of which two are standing and one has fallen. There was a fourth Yupa at this place, which was removed from here at some time and the lower part of which is lying in the middle of this place and the village. Someone has made a statue of Sati on its back. These four Yupas were placed at the four corners of a quadrilateral. Each Yupa is 16 feet long. The lower part is quadrangular and above 6 feet it is octagonal. The upper part is again square and curved.

In ancient times, Yupas were made in this manner.[1] On each yup, there is an inscription in the Kushan period Brahmi[2] script in Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit, which shows that these four yup were established in Vikram Samvat 295 by the four sons of Maukhari dynasty's great general Raja Bal after performing the Triratra Yajna. Raja Bal had three sons - Balsingh, Balvardhan and Somdev. The name of the fourth son could not be ascertained. Each son had donated a thousand cows to the Brahmins at the end of the yagya. Raja Bal must have been the Samant (vassal) and mandalik king of the Shaka Kshatrap Vijayadaman (238-250 CE) of Malwa. Vijayadaman's kingdom extended up to Nandasa (Mewar), which is about 140 miles away from Barwa. Such yagya-yup have been found earlier in Bisapur, Vijaygarh and Nagar as well. None of these places is more than 140 miles away from Barwa. This shows that during the period of Shaka Kshatraps, there must have been a revival of Vedic religion and culture in this region. It is also more probable that Badwa was the capital of Bal at that time, and perhaps he had settled it. At that time it would have been a small prosperous city, and the Maukhari dynasty must

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1 Shatapath Brahman 3-7-1

2 Articles on Bal Maukhari's Yups- Appendix No.1

have ruled the present Hadoti province for a long time in the third century.

Gupta period temple - The Shiva temple of Charchauma is the oldest temple in Kota state. It has been renovated from time to time. Due to continuous renovation, it has been transformed so much that now from outside it looks like a medieval temple.Careful observation shows that its four pillars, two door frames and the lower parts of the walls are present in their original form. There are inscriptions in Sanskrit and Gupta script on one of the inner pillars and on the stone wall to the left of the outer door.[3] This Shiv temple was built by some king, but his name has not been identified yet. There is a four-faced Shivling inside the temple, which is very similar to the idols of the Gupta period. The ruins of two Gupta temples are also present in the canal of the river. The pillars of these temples are very unique and the roofs are made of large boulders, the inner parts of which are decorated with artistically engraved flowers and leaves. The name of Dhruva Swami is engraved on one of the pillars in the script of the late Gupta period. This Dhruva Swami was killed in the battle with the Huns, and was a famous warrior during the Gupta period. These temples are beautiful examples of Gupta period architecture, and are famous by the name of Bhim-Chauri. There is a popular belief that Bhima Pandava started building a mandap to marry a goddess and he wanted it to be completed overnight, but the mandap was about to be completed when morning arrived. So Bhima left it incomplete and went away. This belief seems baseless and meaningless. These temples are not incomplete, but have fallen down over time. Or perhaps the Muslims have demolished them. Many fragments of destroyed and broken parts are still lying scattered here and there.

Medieval Temples - At a distance of about two miles from Sarathal, on the left bank of the river Parvan, there are ruins of an extinct ancient fort. And three temples are

[3] Inscription on the Door of the Temple of Charchauma:Appendix No. 2

standing in a dilapidated state. In front of these, on the other bank of the river, there is a Ganesh temple, a Vishnu temple and a Shiva-linga. The fort and the three dilapidated temples near it seem to be much older than the eighth century. The name of Shri Bhimdev is engraved on one pillar of each of the two temples. These letters may have been written around the eighth century. These three temples and the fort seem to have been built by Shri Bhimdev. That is why the name of this city is Bhimgarh. The sanctum sanctorum and mandap of these temples are different from other Hindu temples. The sanctum sanctorum is rectangular in shape and the prayer hall and mandap attached to it are both rectangular; the length of which is on the right and left side of the sanctum sanctorum. On the left side, there is a statue of standing Ganapati in the Ganesh temple, which must be from before the tenth century. The Vishnu temple is beautiful and a delightful example of fine art.

Huge Shivalinga – This Shivalinga is situated in the huge quadrangular yonipatta in the middle of the ruins of a destroyed temple. This yonipatta is made of three huge stones, which are situated one above the other and the height of all three is about six feet. Beautiful creepers are carved on all four sides around the three stones. The lower part of the yonipatta is about six feet below the surface of the sanctum sanctorum, and there is space for circumambulation around it. Hundreds of small lingas are carved on the huge Shivalinga. In fact, this is Sahasra Linga Shivapind. The Shiva temple has been completely destroyed and heaps of its stones are lying all around. Kaldev has been so kind that he did not cover Shivling. There are many statues of Vishnu, Shiva, Lakshmi, etc. lying here and there in Bhimgarh,which must be from before the tenth century.

Inscription of the Nagavanshi king in Koshvardhan - Shergarh is a city older than the seventh century. Its original name was Koshvardhan. In a niche below the stairs on the left side of the Barkhedi gate, there is an inscription of the Buddhist Nagavanshi king Devadatta dated Vikram Samvat

870 Magh Sudi 6. It is written in pure Sanskrit language and beautiful script, and it mentions the construction of a Buddhist Vihara.[4]

Inscription of the Panwar king - There are two inscriptions of the eleventh century of Vikram on the temple of Lakshminarayan in Shergarh. In one of these, the genealogy of the Parmar kings of Dhar from Vakpatidev to Maharaj Udayaditya Dev is given.[5]

Shergarh Fort - Shergarh Fort is from the time of the Muslims. Probably it was built by Sher Shah because he had conquered Koshvardhan and named it Shergarh. At present three walls of the fort are visible. The outermost wall and the city rampart were built simultaneously by Jhala Zalim Singh.[6]

The central wall of the fort seems to have been built by Sher Shah. There is a stone embedded in it, on which there is a phrase written in the script of the eleventh century. It is clear from this that this stone has been uprooted from some other place and this wall was built after the eleventh century. The wall inside it, some ruins of which are still present, was made of mud in which some stones were added later. This is probably of the Parmar period.

Three Jain statues - There are also three broken Jain statues of the eleventh century in Shergarh, which were built by a Rajput chieftain. The inscription engraved on them reveals that till the eleventh century this city was called Koshvardhan.

Inscription of Jai Singh Parmar - There is an inscription of the beginning of the fourteenth century of Vikram in Atru, in which there is a mention of the donation of a village named Bhainsda by Maharaja Jai Singh of the Parmar

[4] Inscription of the Nagavanshi king in Koshavardhan Appendix number 3

[5] Inscriptions of the Panwar Raja at Shergarh, Appendix number 4

[6] Inscription of Borkhedi Darwaza (gate) of Fort Shergarh-Appendix number 5(a)

dynasty to a poet-chakravarti Pandit. The temple on whose pillar this inscription is engraved has only four pillars standing now and the rest of the portion has fallen down. From these fallen stones and the idols removed from here and collected in Ganeshganj, it can be assumed that this temple was built around the tenth century.

Idols of Ganeshganj - Ganeshganj has a collection of idols from the destroyed temples of Atru, most of which are Hindu idols and some Jain idols. The Hindu idols are of gods and goddesses like Shiva, Vishnu, Saraswati, Brahma etc. Most of these idols were made to beautify the walls, pillars etc. of the temple and not for worship. A small idol is of Lord Varaha, about one and a half feet high and about two and a half feet long, on which many small idols of sages are engraved. The Jain idols are of Mahavira, Shanti-Nath and Neminath Tirthankaras. Among the Hindu idols, there are many Yakshas and Yakshinis as well. All these statues are very beautiful from the artistic point of view and appear to have been made in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

An underground place - Two more temples of Atru also appear to have been built during this period and are called the temples of Gadgach. There is a place which appears hollow from inside. At present there is a path on it and apparently it appears to be just a field, but the clear sound produced by hitting something on it reveals that there is a house underneath. At present no signs older than the tenth century are visible in Atru, but it is assumed that with more historical research and excavation of the ruins, this village will be proved to be much older.

Krishna Vilas - There are ruins of a capital on the left bank of Vilasi, a tributary of the Parvati river. These are called Krishna Vilas. There is a fort, several Jain and Hindu temples and the ruins of a small town here. Only the lower parts of the walls of the fort are left. In front of its main gate, stones of a Hindu temple are lying. Near it, there is a huge statue of Lord Varaha. It is possible that this ruined temple is of Varaha.

Huge Varaha statue - This statue resembles the statue of Atru but its size is very big. Such a huge and beautiful Varaha statue is probably not found anywhere else in India. A ruined Hindu temple exists inside the fort. Now only the Ratnagriha of this temple is left, whose roof is made of a single piece of stone and beautiful creepers are carved on its inside. It is called Chhipon ki Chandni. It is not known how it got this name.

Hindu and Jain Temples - A Jain temple and a Hindu temple are notable among the ruins of the city. The Hindu temple is so ruined that its original form can be guessed only from the fallen stones, some remaining parts of the walls and the pillars of the Ratnagriha. It is also not known whether it was a Shaiv temple or a Vaishnav temple. Its fallen ornamental huge stones indicate its construction art. The Jain temple is in relatively good condition. The specialty of this temple is that it has garbhagriha (sanctum sanctorums) for the statues of many Tirthankaras. After entering the door, there is a square courtyard around which there are rows of these sanctum sanctorums. Each sanctum sanctorum is about eight feet long and eight feet wide. The roofs of all these have been destroyed but the walls of most of them are still standing. At present five sanctum sanctorums are clearly visible but looking at the size of the temple, it is clearly assumed that earlier there would have been Ratnagrihas outside, and each would have a statue of a Tirthankara. Unlike the Hindu temples of that time, intimate statues have not been carved anywhere in this Jain temple for decoration and beauty. There is a huge Jain statue on the way to the market which seems to be of Loknath Tirthankara. There are ruins of a Hindu temple a little far from the present Vilas village. The four pillars of the mandap stand on a high pile of stones on which stone frames are also placed. The height, carving, art and position of these pillars and the shape, size and ornamentation of the stones lying around can give an idea of the art and beauty of this temple.

Beautiful statues of the 10th century - The statues of these ruined Hindu temples are collected in an open courtyard

in Vilas village. All these statues are decorative statues. Apart from the statues of gods like Shiva, Vishnu, Devi, Saraswati, Brahma, Narasimha etc., there are also many statues of Yaksha, Yakshini, gatekeepers, dancers, heroines, animals, strange birds, etc. From the artistic point of view, all these statues are of high quality. No stone inscription has been found in Vilas till now, but from the ruins of the fort, the city and the temple and the construction of the statues, it appears that Vilas city must have been destroyed in the 10th or 11th century.

Ramgarh - The old name of present Ramgarh is said to be Srinagar. The dilapidated fort on this hill appears to be about four hundred or five hundred years old, but a Shiv temple named Bhandevra, which is still standing in a dilapidated state in the middle of the forest surrounding the hill, shows that Srinagar must have been a prosperous city around the tenth century.

Bhanddevra - This Shiva temple is situated in the middle of the forest surrounded by the mountain range of Ramgarh. In the beginning of the thirteenth century of Vikram, a Kshatriya king of the Med dynasty got this temple renovated.[7] Therefore, it must have been built much earlier than this. A fragment of a Sanskrit inscription written in the script of about the tenth century has been found near this temple,[8] from which it seems that a king named Malay Varma must have got this temple built to express gratitude to his Ishtdev on the occasion of victory over an enemy. This temple is a beautiful example of mature Hindu art. This is a temple of the best quality among the Shikharabandh temples. Its shikharas, mandap, arches, pillars are all indicative of excellent art. Almost half of the shikharas have fallen but the remaining portion reminds us of the beauty, style and splendor of the structure. Behind it is another small temple of the same

[7] Inscription on a Pillar Inside Bhand Devara, Ramgarh, Appendix No. 5(b)

[8] Bhand Devara - A partial inscription from Ramgarh, the 10th century Appendix No. 5 (c)

design. Near the temple, covered by the fallen stones of the shikharas and mandap, there is a Nandi and a Shivling on the right side. There are many types of pictures regarding intimacy on the pillars of the mandap, which show the specialty of the art and culture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Memory of the Maurya dynasty - The Shaiv temple of Kansuwan is also of the eighth century. On the left side of this temple, on the wall of the parikrama, there is an inscription of Maharaja Shivagan Maurya in Sanskrit language and in the eighth century Kutila script, in which the construction of this temple is mentioned in detail. Most of the parts of this temple appear to have been built in the 8th century. Some parts have been renovated later but this has not changed the original form of the temple.

Other places - There are temples of the 11th century in Dehlanpur and Ametha, Nizamat Aklera. The temple of Vichalas is also of the same age. The ruined palaces of Mau are medieval.

Ruined cities of Bhils - Five miles north of Nahargarh, on the left bank of the Varni river, there was once a small city called Asalpur, of which only ruins are visible now. Its ruins give the idea that like Vilas, this too must have once been a prosperous city. To the south of Kota city, on the right bank of the Chambal river, there are ruins of two forts. Both of them are called Akelagarh. One of these is an old fort, and the other is behind it. Akelagarh and Asalpur are places of Bhils only according to legend. It seems that Kothia Bhil must have left Akelagarh and settled Kota city to have easy access to the river water. Kota city was brought under the control of Bundi's prince Jeet Singh after killing Kothia, and there is a popular belief for Asalpur too that Raoratan destroyed that city after killing a Bhil king named Bhoja.

Prashasti of Jaitrasingh and Hammir - There is a prashasti of Maharaja Hammir on the temple of Kanwalji

Mahadev in Thikana Balvan, which describes the valor and victory of Hammir and his father.

4
Origin Of Chauhans



Shaiv temple of Baroli - 8th-9th Century

The magnificent Shaiv temple of Baroli in Bhainsrod area of Mewar kingdom is said to have been built by the Huns. Traditionally, it is called the Chauri of the Hun king.



Bisaldev's Inscriptions - 12th Century

The oldest mention about the origin of Chauhanas is found in an inscription of Ajmer which was found in the piles of stones near Dhai Din Ka Jhonpra.

Origin of Chauhans



There is a great difference of opinion among modern scholars about the origin of Chauhana Kshatriyas. Most scholars say that Chauhanas are descendants of the Hun caste, and some scholars have proved that they are Raghuvanshi Kshatriyas.

Bisaldev's inscription - The oldest mention about the origin of Chauhanas is found in an inscription of Ajmer which was found in the piles of stones near Dhai Din Ka Jhonpra. Dhai Din Ka Jhonpra is actually the Saraswati temple built by Vigraharaj or Bisaldev IV. Engraved on the stone blocks and installed on the walls are the Harleki play, composed by Vigraharaj, and the Lalit Vigraha Raj Natak, composed by the court poet Someshwar. Near this temple, a part of a poem related to Chauhana history written by some poet, engraved on a very big stone, has been found. Bisaldev lived before Prithviraj in the beginning of the twelfth century, hence this poem engraved on the stone would also be of the same time. In this inscription, first the Sun is praised, and then the glory of the Surya dynasty is described. In the same inscription, it is written that in the kingdom of the Surya dynasty kings, no disease or illness could trouble the people, no creature was destined to fall, and the kings of this dynasty like Ikshwaku and Ram ruled over the seven islands. Thereafter, it is written that the brave Chahaman or Chauhan was born in this clan.[9]

Prithviraj Vijay Kavya - In the era after Prithviraj, a poem named 'Prithviraj Vijay' was written in which the origin of Chauhans was written and stated that the Raghuvansh has been adorned with three great men Kakutstha, Ikshwaku, and Raghu. It became more famous in Kaliyuga due to the birth of Chauhan and Prithviraj promoted this Surya dynasty.[10]

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[9] R.B. Gaurishankar Ojha - History of Rajputana, first volume, page 64.

[10] 'Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya Mahākāvya'," see Appendix 6

Hammir Mahakavya - Around 1393 CE, Nayachandra Suri had written a brief history of the Chauhans called Hammir Mahakavya, in which Chahamana has been described as a Suryavanshi. The poet writes that after receiving the empire from Brahma, Chahamana ruled over other kings in the same way as his great ancestor Surya rules over the mountains.[11]

Prithviraj Raso – The origin of Chauhanas has been described in the following way in 'Prithviraj Raso' written by Chandbardai: Seeing Abu immovable, sage Vasishtha was pleased and called other sages there for the yagna. When the sages started performing the yagya after making a fire pit, the demons started creating obstacles in the yagya. Annoyed by this, all the sages went to Vasishtha for refuge. Vasishtha created three Kshatriya warriors, Pratihar, Chalukya and Parmar, from the yagya altar to protect the yagya. Even after this, the disturbance of the demons did not subside. Then Vasishtha himself sat down to perform the yagya and thought a lot about how to kill the demons. Finally, Vasishthaji sat near the fire pit, praised Brahma, and offered sacrifice by reciting Vedic mantras. It was in that moment, the Kshatriya warrior Chahuan was born.[12] The scholars are of the opinion that Prithviraj Raso is neither a contemporary book of Prithviraj, nor is it historically authentic. Some parts of it may have been written at that time, but most of it is from much later times. This is clearly proved by the many historical mistakes and poetic imaginations in this book.

Vanshbhaskar - The origin of Chauhans has also been described in the above manner in *Vanshbhaskar*, written by Suryamal. When Dhundhketu and Jambha, sons of the demon king Baan, disrupted Vasishtha's yagya at Arbudgiri (Abu), Vasishtha invited Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, Indra, and other gods to that mountain and prayed to them for protection. Then Brahma created four Kshatriya heroes Pratihar, Chalukya, Pramar, and Chauhan from the burning fire pond to destroy

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[11] Humbhir epic, first canto verse 17, 18, see Appendix 6

[12] Prithviraj Raso, Adi Parva, Appendix 7

the destructive demons. Chauhan Veer was created by Brahma in extreme anger by performing a very cruel sacrifice.[13]

New belief - The above stories of Chandbardai and Surajmal Mishran are very popular among the Rajputs. On the basis of these stories, Chauhan, Chalukya, Parmar and Pratihar have started calling themselves Agnivanshi. Both these texts are the creations of Bhaat and Charan and are written in folk language. That is why they are respected a lot among Rajputs, and they are considered to be authentic history. Therefore, although earlier all the four Rajput clans believed themselves to be Suryavanshi but after the composition of Raso, all of them started considering themselves as Agnivanshi. This belief got further strengthened by Suryamal's *Vanshbhaskar*.

Suryavanshi and Agnivanshi are the same thing - After describing the origin of these four Kshatriya clans from the fire pit, it is also written in the above two texts that these clans were born from Surya. Chandbardai, after describing the origin of the four Agnikuls and giving the names of thirty-six lineages of Kshatriyas, writes that all the Rajputs are either Surya-vanshi, Chandra-vanshi or Yadav-vanshi.[14] Surajmal Mishran was aware that in texts older than *Raso*, the Chauhans were considered Suryavanshi (descendants of the Solar dynasty) or Raghuvanshi (descendants of the lineage of King Raghu). Hence, he also wrote that some scholars refer to the Agnivanshi Kshatriyas as Suryavanshi. However, since the Sun (Surya) and Fire (Agni) are essentially the same, this should not be seen as a contradiction.[15]

Place of Origin Mount Abu or Pushkar Tirtha - The story of the birth of some Kshatriyas from Abhi Kund was already popular before Prithviraj Raso. It is written in the book named *Kalindika Prakash* that after the completion of one thousand years in Kaliyug, the Yavangans will start harassing

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13 Vanshabhaskar,page 91-94 Appendix 8
14 Pṛthvīrāja Rāso, Pṛiṣṭha 54 Ādi Parva, Appendix 9
15 *Vansh Bhaskar*, First Part, Page 87 Appendix 10

the people and then the brave Kshatriya people born from the Yagya Kund will protect the people.[16] It was also a famous legend that the famous Charkul of Kshatriyas originated from the Yagya Kund of Rishi Vashishtha.[17] But Chand Bardai has written the place of Vasistha's yagya as Abu.[18] These legends may have become popular because the original capital of the Pratihar kings was a city called Bhinmal, 50 miles north-west of Mount Abu.[19] Near this, at a distance of about 40 miles in the east, the Guhilot Rajputs established their capital first at Nagde and then at Chittor.[20] The capital of the Chauhanas was Sambhar Nagari to the north-east of Abu and the boundary of their kingdom was only about 150 miles away from Abu.[21]

Agnivanshis are purified foreigners - Colonel James Todd expressed the opinion that Agnivanshi Kshatriyas are purified Kshatriyas, based on the origin stories of Chandbardai and Surajmal. He said that the clear meaning of the figurative stories related to the origin of these four castes can only be that for their own protection, the Brahmins purified the war-loving foreign castes and included them in the Aryan religion.[22] Colonel Todd was of the opinion that the customs of Rajputs like Ashvamedha, horse worship, weapon worship, morning bath, war rituals, festivals like Vasant, slaughter of buffaloes, eating pigs, Charan tales, respect for women, omen

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16 *Kalindika Prakash*, *Prithviraj Raso* Adi Parva, quoted on page 51,Appendix 10

17 *Shri Hammir Mahakavya*, First Canto, Verse 17 Appendix 10

18 *Prithviraj Raso*, Adi Parva, Page 46 Appendix 10

19 (a) Gwalior Inscription - Nach rd.
K. Gesedlsch. D. Win, Gottingen 1905, Epigr notes' No. 17.
(b) Archaeological survey Annual Report 1903-04 page 277.
(c) A. M. T. Jackson — Bhinmal, Bombay Gazetteer, 1896, Vol. I Part I App.
(d) Watters-On Ywan Chwang ii, 250.
(e) D. R. Bhandarkar - A. S. W. I. Bog. Report 1907- 1908 pt. 36-41.
(f) J. Wilson-Indian Caste 1877, Vol. I p. 109.

20 C. V. Vaidya-History of Medieval Hindu India Vol. II pp. 72-73.

21 C. V. Vaidya-History of Medieval Hindu India Vol. II, page 92.

22 That these races, the sons of Agni were but regenerated and converted by the Brahmanas to fight their battles, the clearest interpretation of their allegorical history will disclose. Tod-Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. I page 76.

system, drinking alcohol, funeral rites, weapon training etc. are very similar to those of the Scythians.[23] Colonel Todd, by this, confirmed his opinion that the Agnivanshi Rajputs are descendants of the foreign Scythians. Vincent Smith considers the Agnivanshis to be descendants of the Huns and Gurjars.[24] For Gurjar Pratiharas, James Campbell and Dr. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar believed that these people belonged to the Khajar caste who came from outside and after entering India came to be known as Gujar.[25] When scholars proved one of the four Agnivanshi castes to be foreign Gujars, historians had no objection in considering the remaining three castes as Gujars. This research is also confirmed in the stories of the Bhaats.[26] Huns have been counted among Rajput clans, Hun princesses have married into the higher clans of Rajputs, and the Huns believed in Shaivism.

Huns and Rajputs - Queen Hariyadevi of Guhil dynasty king Allat (953 CE) of Mewar was of Hun dynasty,[27] and Karna, son of Kalchuri or Haihaya dynasty king Gangeydev of Chedi was married to Hun princess Aballadevi to enter India.[28] Later, the Hun kings accepted Shaivism and started being considered Hindus. Regarding the Hun king Mihir-Kul, King Yashodharman of Malve had carved an inscription on his Jayastambh near Mandsaur that King Mihir-Kul, who did not bow his head before anyone other than his presiding deity Shiva, had worshiped at his (Yashodharman's) feet.[29] The silver coins of Mihir clan have the symbols of the trident, Nandi and

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23 Tod-Rajasthan, Part I page 48-67.

24 Vincent A. Smith-The Early History of India, page 426.

25 (1) (i) D. R. Bhandarkar-Gurjars (J. Bo. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XX.
(ii) Epigraphic notes (Ibid. Vol XXI.
(iii) .... No. 17.
(iv) Hiranand - Gwalior Inscription, Archaeological survey India, Annual Report 1903-04, Page . 277.
(v) J. M. Campbell-Hindus of Gujarat, Bom. Gaz. App. B.

26 Ojha - History of Rajputana, first volume, page 55. Kumarpal Management.

27 *Indian Antiquary*, Volume 39, Page 191 Appendix 11

28 (Reference: "E. A. Volume ." page 2, verse 4 Appendix 11

29 Reference: "Phlī. Gu. Ī." page 146-47)) Appendix 11

umbrella and 'Jayatu Vrishdhwajah' written on them.[30] The magnificent Shaiv temple of Baroli in Bhainsrod area of Mewar kingdom is said to have been built by the Huns. Traditionally, it is called the Chauri of the Hun king.[31]

Four proofs of being foreigners - Regarding the origin of these four Kshatriya clans, the scholars believe that they are foreigners; It is based on only four evidences (1) the story of origin from Yagya Kund, (2) origin of Pratihars of Bhinmal and Kannauj from Gujars, (3) genealogy of Puranas, (4) period of light of Rajputs. This opinion was shared by stalwarts like Dr. Devkrishna Bhandarkar, Dr. Vincent Smith and Sir James Campbell. Scholars have established it, but the author regrets that He does not agree with them for the following reasons:

(1) The story of origin from the sacrificial fire is found in *Prithviraj Raso, Kalindika Prakash* and *Vanshbhaskar*. This story in *Vanshbhaskar* is just a shadow of *Raso* and both *Raso* and *Kalindika Prakash* are not ancient texts. The original part may have been written by Chand, but most of it is believed to have been written in the seventeenth century.[32] *Kalindi Prakash* is not a book written before the arrival of Muslims. While telling the story of Yagya Kund, Chandbardai also considers Kshatriyas to be Raghuvanshi, Chandravanshi and Yadavvanshi, and this tradition was prevalent even before him. The commentator of the Sanskrit book named *Ratnakosh* has also written that Manu is the originator of the thirty-six clans of Kshatriyas. This type of tradition is based on the tradition of Kshatriyas. Despite being a tradition, the story of the origin of Kshatriyas from the fire pit was probably written with the objective that Kshatriyas should consider fighting with Muslims to protect the country as the main objective of their lives.

(2) Pratiharas of Kannauj were considered Gujars i.e. Gurjars, and Cunningham considers Gurjars to be of Yuezhi

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30 Karnigaham - Coins of the Later Indo Scythians page 75.
31 Tod - Rajasthan, Volume 2, Personal Narrative.
32 C.V. Vaidya - History of Medieval Hindu India, Volume 2, Page 19.

i.e. Kushan race.[33] V.A. Smith counts them among Huns,[34] and Sir James Campbell considers Gurjars to be of Khajar race; Khajar people came to India in the 6th century.[35] Professor Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar accepts Campbell's opinion,[36] but there are many objections in considering the Gurjar caste as Yuezhi, Hun, Khajar or any other foreign caste.[37] The arguments of the above scholars, though full of research, are not indisputable. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha even goes so far as to say that the Gujjar caste is Yuezhi, Hun, Khajar or any other foreign caste. He writes that 'To believe that Gurjar or Gujar caste originated from Khajar is as much a figment of imagination as if someone says that Saxene Kayasthas originated from the Saxon caste of Europe.'[38] But even if we accept that the Pratihara Kshatriyas are descendants of a foreign race, the problem of the origin of the Chauhanas is not solved. Even if the Pratiharas are proved to be foreigners, the Chauhanas are not proved to be foreigners.

(3) It is written in the Puranas that Mahapadma will be born from the womb of a Shudra and will destroy all the Kshatriyas. After this all kings will be Shudras.[39] From a historical point of view this statement of Puranas does not carry not much importance. The royal genealogies given in the Puranas do not continue here from the fourth century AD. It is clear from this that if the Puranas were not first written in the third or fourth century, then they were definitely edited at that time. The statement of the writers of Puranas that "In future all kings will be Shudras" is a statement of

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33 Cunningham – Archaeological Survey Report, Volume 2, Page 70.
34 Smith – Early History of India, Page 411.
35 E .A. Volume 40, Page 30.
36 Above and page 22
37 Ojha – History of Rajputana, Volume 1; Page 134 foot note no. 2.
38 Ojha - History of Rajputana, Part 1, Page 135.
39 Matsya Purana Chapter 272 Verse 17-22. Vayu Purana Chapter 99 Verse , 326-31. Brahmanda Purana 3-74-139-43.
Vishnu Purana, Part 4 Chapter 24. Similarly, Sri Madbhagavatam, Volume, 12, Chapter 1, Verse 8-13.9Appendix 12

anger and despair, because due to the spread of Buddhism at that time the importance of Brahmins had reduced to a great extent.

(4) Vincent A. Smith has written that the rise of Rajput states happened suddenly in the eighth or ninth centuries. At that time the ancient traditions of the Kshatriyas had been destroyed and new stories of new Rajput castes had started to be created.[40] But keeping in mind the present historical research, this view cannot be accepted. After Mahapadma, Kshatriya kings have been ruling continuously. It is true that from the fourth century to the eighth century, other castes dominated, but during this period, Kshatriyas were not completely destroyed, and power and governance were also in their hands in the form of Mandalic kingdoms. After Mahapadma, Chandragupta Maurya, who was a very powerful and Chakravarti king in India, was a Suryavanshi Kshatriya.[41] Even after the destruction of the Maurya empire, small kings of the Maurya dynasty continued to rule many places in India. One of these branches ruled Chittor before Bappa Rawal.

The writer of *Kumarapala Prabandha* considers the Kshatriyas of that lineage to be descendants of the Raghu dynasty.[42] There is mention of the Kshatriya kings in the inscription of King Kharavela from the second century (Before Vikram Samvat).[43] The inscription of Ushav Dat from the second century or Vikram Samvat,[44] and the inscription of

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[40] Vincent A. Smith – Early History of India page 423 - 24.

[41] McCrindle - Invasion of India by Alexander the Great Page 408. Mahavansh Ki Tika Kern - Manual of Indian Buddhism page 46.

[42] **Rāma muni rāha purā Ravovaṁśe Citrāṅgado rājā abhinavaiḥ phalaiḥ Kumārapāla prabandha** – Long ago, in the lineage of the Sun (Raghu/Solar dynasty), there was a king named Chitrāṅgada, who attained new fruits (rewards or accomplishments) by the guidance of the sage Rāma-from Kumārapāla Prabandha

[43] Kashiprasad Jaiswal J.B. Prof. Research Society Volume 3 December 1917 page 425-85, Appendix 12

[44] **Utam Bhadrakanam Cha Kshatriyanam Survey Parigriha Krita Tatosmi Gato Poksharani**.(The distinguished Bhadrakas, who were all Kshatriyas, were fully honored and then went to Pokharani.)

Jaggayya peta,[45] all mention Kshatriya kings. The last inscription also mentions the Ikshwaku dynasty. There is undisputed evidence that Kshatriya kingdoms existed during the Gupta period and Harsha's time.[46]

Continuous rule of Raghuvanshis - Raghuvanshi Kshatriyas have been continuously ruling since ancient times. It is true that from time to time one umbrella rule has been in the hands of other castes. Like after Mauryas, there was rule of Sunga and Kanva Brahmin dynasties, after Bharshivas, there was rule of Gupta dynasty Jats, after Chauhans, there was rule of Pathans and in the eighteenth century, there was rule of Marathas and thereafter of Brahmins. Even then, the tradition of rule of Kshatriyas has been continuous. Hence, the statement of Puranas that after Mahapadmananda, all kings will be Shudras is meaningless. The Shakas and Huns came to India and became Hindus. The princesses of the Shak Kshatrapas were married to Aryan Kshatriyas,[47] and the Hun daughters were also married to princes of famous Kshatriya clans,[48] but this is not enough to call Rajputs descendants of the Scythians or Hun clans.

Raghuvanshis are ancient Kshatriyas - The above evidence proves that the Raghuvanshi Kshatriyas are the original Kshatriyas of India, and sometimes they married the princesses of those ruling clans that came from outside and had accepted the Aryan religion. It has also been made clear

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A.E.Volume 8, page 78.

[45] Sindh. Raje (Jo) Matariputas Ikhakuna (Naam) Sirivirpuris Datas Samvachar 20. Indian ancient script series page 58, script 12

[46] Samudragupta had defeated the warriors who were Kshatriyas.Fleet - Article from Gupta Inscriptions, Allahabad. Girnar inscription of Rudradaman.

A.E. Volume 8, pages 44 and 4

[47] King Vashisht's son Shri Pulumai married the daughter of Rudradaman, the Shak- Kshatrapa of Ujjain. Rudradaman was a foreign Shak, who had adopted the Arya-dharma, and King Vashisht's son Shri Pulumai was an Andhravanshi Kshatriya. D.R. Bhandarkar Eng. & Vol. 47,1918 (South in the Satvahan period)Aitereya Brahman 7-18. D.R. Bhandarkar, Eng. & D. 57, 1916, page 70

[48] E. A. Volume 39, page 161. A.E. G. 2, page 4

by much evidence that the Chauhans are Raghuvanshis or Suryavanshis. The name of their progenitor appears to be Sūrya or Raghu. It is possible that Raghu is the same ancestor in whose fourth generation Śrī Rāmacandra was born. Till date, among the Kshatriyas, the dynasty is named after some famous ancestor and when in the future a more glorious man is born, the next dynasty leaves the name of the previous man and adopts the name of the next great man. Hence, it seems that some great man named Chahman or Chauhan must have been born in Raghuvansh, after whom his descendants abandoned the name of their very ancient and obscure and almost forgotten ancestor Raghu or Surya and started being called Chauhan. In one branch of Chauhan dynasty, there was a brave king named Harraj or Hadoraaj. After him, his descendants started being called Hada and according to the same system, many branches of Hada Rajputs also came into existence.

Brief History Of Chauhanas



The early history of Chauhanas is shrouded in darkness. The early history of the Chauhans is shrouded in uncertainty. The list of the ancestors of this dynasty, beginning with Chauhman and followed by the thirty-six kings, as provided by Suryamal in *Vanshbhaskar*, lacks concrete historical evidence.[49] Similarly, the list of thirty-six kings given by Chandbardai in *Prithviraj Raso*,[50] from Chauhana to Vishal Dev, can also be considered speculative. The oldest inscription of Chauhanas is of 972 Isvi Samvat.[51] An inscription dated about 200 years later has been found in Bijolia.[52] Many more inscriptions dated after this have been found, but still the early history of Chauhanas has not come to light. The inscriptions of Harsha and Bijolia give the list of those eight kings who ruled in Ahichattra i.e. Nagor. His kingdom consisted of 1.25 lakh villages, including Ajmer.[53] This region was called Sapadalaksha in ancient times.[54] Later it came to be known as Sambhar or Sakambari. The capital of Sambhar region was a city called Ahichattra,[55] which is present-day Nagaur.

Beginning of Chauhanas of Sambhar - (Samvat 775) It has not been ascertained yet who established the Chauhanas' kingdom in Sambhar. Harsha's inscription traces their ancestry back to Guvak, and in Bijolia, the name of their ancestor is given as Samantdev. From Samantdev to Guvak,

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[49] Vanshbhaskar, Part 2, Pages 518-22, 727–30, 737–45, 765, 1013-40, 1186-
1200

[50] Prithviraj Raso Adi Parva Pages 55-117

[51] A. E. jild 2, prishth 119; C. B. Vaidya – History of Medieval Hindu India, jild 2,
prishth 91.

[52] A.S.J.B. Volume 55 page 41

[53] Skanda Purana, Kumar Khand, Chapter 39

[54] C.V. Vaidya - History of Medieval Hindu India Volume 2 Page 92,

[55] C.V. Vaidya - History of Medieval Hindu India,Vol. 2, page 92

the names of six kings are given in this inscription. From Guvak onwards till Durlabh Raj, the list of eight kings is the same in both the inscriptions. The seventh king from Guvak, Vigraharaj, died in Samvat 1030 (973 CE). Therefore, if the period of each generation is considered to be 15 years as per the principle of history, then Guvak must have ruled in Samvat 925 (868 CE). Before Guvak, six more kings had been in this dynasty. If each of them ruled for 15 years, then the period of Samantdev falls in the beginning of the eighth century AD. On the basis of this estimate, it can be said that Chauhanas must have established their kingdom in Nagor around Samvat 775 (718 CE).

Brief biography - We do not know anything about the six kings before Guvak except their names. First was Guvak, a devotee of Shiva. He built the temple of Harshdev on Harsh mountain and Harshdev remained the traditional deity of his descendants.[56] After Guvak, Chandraraj ascended the royal throne, and after him, his son Guvak II became the king. During the reign of Guvak II's son, Chandan, at the beginning of the tenth century, battles began between the Chauhans and the Tomar Rajputs. In these battles, Chandan defeated the Tomar king named Rudren and achieved fame.[57] Chandan's son Maharaj Vakpati was the most glorious among the Chauhanas of Sambhar. He extended his kingdom till Vindhyachal. Hence he also came to be known as Vindhyanripati.[58] His younger brother, Lakshman, established a separate kingdom around Samvat 1000 (943 CE) and made Nadol (in Marwar) its capital.[59] Vakpati's son Singhraj

[56] **Śrī Harṣaḥ kuladevo'syatsmāddivyaḥ kulakramaḥ**("Lord Harsha is the family deity, and from him arises the divine family lineage) Harsh inscription A.Eng.Vol. 2, page 119.

[57] **Shri Chandanobhoot Kshitipathi: Bhayadastomareshan Sadarpan Hatva Rudrenbhupam Sadarpam**. (King Shri Chandana, the formidable ruler, destroyed the arrogant king with the might of Rudra) Harsh inscription A.E. Volume 2 page 121.

[58] Bijolia inscription J.R.A.S.B.55 page 41.

[59] C.V. Vaidya – History of Medieval Hindu India, Volume 2, page 96.

ascended the throne of Sambhar, and due to his immense charity and virtue, people started considering him like Maharaj Harishchandra. He got gold plated on the roof of the temple of Shriharsh, defeated the king of Tomars, and achieved victory in every direction.[60] Singhraj's son Vigraharaj became generous and glorious like his father. He donated two villages to the temple of Harshadev.Gave donations, and during his reign an inscription was put on this temple. Vigraharaja's brother Durlabharaja ruled Sambhar around the year 1057 (CE 1000). His grandson Vakyapati was a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni.[61] In the fifth generation from Vakpati, Prithviraj I was born in Samvat 1135 (1078 CE), who offered a golden pot at a Jain temple in Ranthambore.

From Sambhar to Ajmer - Prithviraj I's son Ajaydev left Sambhar and made Ajmer his capital. This king must have been very powerful because coins in his name have been found which also have the name of his queen Somla Devi.[62] Ajaydev's son Arun Raj or Aana built Ana Sagar and in Samvat 1202 (1145 CE) and Samvat 1207 (1150 CE) Solanki king Kumarpal of Gujarat attacked him.[63] Kumarpal lost in the first attack, but he was victorious in the second attack.[64] Kumarpal's sister was married to Aana. Aana insulted her, therefore Kumarpal got angry and attacked Aana.[65]

Very powerful Bisaldev - Among the Chauhanas of Ajmer, Ana's son Vigraharaj IV or Vishaldev or Bisaldev became very powerful. He had an inscription engraved on the iron pillar of Delhi, in which it is written that “Vindhyachal se Himalaya tak yatra karte huye Beesaldev ne un tamaam

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60 Harsha inscription A.I. Volume 2, page 121.Appendix 12

61 (1) C.V. Vaidya - History of Medieval Hindu India, Volume 3 Pusht 148
Bijolia inscription - J.R.A.S.B. 55, and A.E. Volume 8, and
Ojha-Tod Rajasthan, page 394

62 E.A. 1912.

63 Harvilas Sharda - Ajmer page 33-36.
C.V. Vaidya - History of Medieval Hindu India Volume 3, page 148.
Ojha - History of Rajputana Volume 1 page 219

64 Vyapyashraya Kavya Sarg 16, verses 33-34.
Kumar Pal Prabandh. Eng. A. Volume 41 page 195-96

65 C.V. Vaidya - History of Medieval Hindu IndiaVolume 3, page 148.

raajaon ko parajit kiya jinhonne uska saamna kiya aur jinne usko namaskar kiya, un par kripa ki. Musalmaanon ka sanhaar karke Shaakambhariindra Beesaldev ne Aryavartt ko punah vastavik Aryavartt banaya. Himalaya se Vindhyachal tak sampurn desh usne adhikrit kiya." (Traveling from Vindhyachal to Himalayas, Bisaldev defeated all the kings who faced him and showed mercy to those who greeted him. By killing the Muslims, Shakambharendra Bisaldev made Aryavarta the real Aryavarta again. He occupied the entire country from the Himalayas to Vindhyachal.)[66] After conquering Punjab during the time of Vishaldev, Muslims had made many attacks in Central India and had settled in many places. It is known from the above inscription that Bisaldev had expelled all such Muslims from India. This is also proved by the inscription of Bijolia.[67] Bisaladev was not only a brave conqueror, like the famous Parmar king Bhoj of Dhar, he was a scholar himself and a patron of scholars. He himself composed a book named *Harakelinataka*. This book was finished around 1153 CE. His royal poet Somdev had written a play named Lalit Vigraharaja and made his master Vigraharaja its hero. Both these texts were written on white stone slabs and were fixed on the walls of the Sanskrit school, which was established by Bisaldev himself. This school reflects Bisaldev's love for learning and art. Muhammad Ghori converted it into a mosque, which is now famous as Dhai Din Ka Jhonpra. Bisaldev, like his father Aana, also built a pond called Bisala or Bisalsar.

Prithviraj and Shahabuddin Ghori - After Bisaldev, his nephew Prithviraj II became the king. After he ruled for a few years, Bisaldev's younger brother Someshwar ascended the throne. In Samvat 1226 (1170 CE) when the Bijolia stone inscription was engraved, Someshwar was alive. After

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66 E.A.G.19 page 218.Appendix 13

67 **Pratolyaaṃ cha balabhyāṃ cha yena viśrāmitam yaśah | Ḍhillikāgrahaṇaśrāntamāśikālābhalaṃbhitaḥ** A.S.J.B. Z. 55 page 41-43

(By comparing the strength and power, his fame rested,
Tired from capturing Delhi, he had earned the reward of his efforts.)
A.S.J.B. Z. 55 page 41-43

Someshwar, his son Prithviraj III or Rai Pithora ascended the throne. He died fighting with Shahabuddin Ghori. After this, the kingdom of Bharatvarsh went out of the hands of Chauhanas. Even then their branches where they are ruling over small regions and Chauhan Kshatriyas are found in lakhs in India at this time.

Haada dynasty from Harraj or Hadarao - It has been written above that Maharaj Vakpati's younger brother Laxman established a separate small kingdom around Samvat 1000 (943 CE) and set up his capital in Nadol. This branch of Chauhan ruled in Nadol for about 200 years. Thereafter when Qutubuddin snatched Nadol, the Chauhan people settled in Bhinmal and Sanchore.[68] After this they snatched the fort of Jalore from the Pawar Rajputs. There was a valiant warrior named Devraj in this dynasty after which these people came to be known as Devra Chauhan. They snatched Sirohi from the Parmar kings and established their kingdom there.[69] When the Chauhanas of Nadol went to Bhinmal after being defeated by Qutubuddin, at the same time a brave man named Manikrai II of that dynasty established his kingdom in the south-eastern part of Mewar and made Bambawada his capital. In the sixth generation from Manikrai, a very valiant warrior named Harraj or Hadro Rao was born, whose descendants came to be known as Hada.[70]

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[68] Imperial Gazetteer of India, Rajputana, page 218.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Inscriptions of Nadol, Achalgarh and Mainal,

Establishment of Bundi State



Kotiya Bhil Fort, Akelgarh, Kota,13th Century
The ruins of Akelgarh Fort, located on the right bank of the Chambal
River in Kota city.



Makbara -Kesar Khan Dokar Khan,16th Century Kota

The mausoleum measures 30 feet in length and 40 feet in width, with a height of 15 feet**.** Inside the Maqbara, there are three Mazars (tombs).It **s**erves as a testament to the architectural and cultural heritage of the region during the medieval period.



Palayatha Fort

The Palayatha Fort stands as a testament to the architectural and strategic prowess of its time. The fort's structure and design suggest it played a crucial role in regional defense and governance.

Establishment of Bundi State



Hada State in Bambawada - The Hada Rajputs ruled in Bambawada for several generations after Harraj or Rao Hada. Among this lineage, Kanwar Devsingh, the son of Bangdev, was a brave and courageous warrior. He expanded the Hada state and made Bundi city the second capital.

Proposal for Marriage from Jeta Meena of Bundi - At that time, the Meenas ruled over Bundi and the surrounding regions, with their leader Jeta being very powerful. Jeta wanted his sons to marry Rajput girls. The borders of Jeta's kingdom were adjacent to the Hada state of Bambawada. Taking advantage of favorable circumstances, both the Hadas and the Meenas often expanded their territories. During Jeta's time, the Meenas had grown very powerful, and he dared to propose that his sons marry the daughters of Kanwar Devsingh. Such a relationship was not surprising at the time, as those who owned land were considered Kshatriyas, and sometimes such people would form relationships with Rajputs. Devsingh responded to Jeta, stating that if the Meenas abandoned their inferior practices and adopted the Rajput culture, then his sons could marry the daughters of his brother, Jaskaran.[71] Jeta considered this proposal. He gladly accepted, agreed to all the conditions of Dev Singh and wrote the letter.

Devsingh’s Betrayal of the Meenas - Preparations for the marriage began. A wedding pavilion was set up in the village of Umarthun, and Rajkumar Devsingh arrived there with two girls. He also called his younger wife Madanavati to join him. However, Gangdev was unaware of any of these preparations. A special enclosure was built for the Meena wedding procession, under which gunpowder was secretly placed. As soon as the Meena procession entered the

[71] Vanshbhaskar, Part II, Page 1621

enclosure, the gunpowder was set on fire, resulting in most of the Meenas being burnt to death. The survivors were then killed with swords.[72]

This treachery might have been a typical war strategy of the Chauhan Rajputs, as it is said that territories like Kota were taken from the Bhils, and Sirohi from the Meenas, in a similar manner. However, the major issue regarding these stories as historical events is that gunpowder had not been used in India at that time, i.e., during the mid-13th century. Historians believe that the first use of gunpowder in India occurred in 1584 (1527 CE) at the Battle of Khanwa, where Babar, while fighting against Maharana Sangha, used it. The main reason for the defeat of such a valorous and powerful ruler like Maharana Sangha was not his bravery or his army, but Babar's invention and use of gunpowder. Although the above stories of the Chauhan victories might not be entirely true, there is certainly an element of truth in the fact that bravery and strategic warfare were key to these triumphs. Chauhan did not consider the use of deceit, force or skill as an improper war strategy.

Dev Singh's Control Over Bundi and Expansion of His Kingdom - After killing the Meenas, Kanwar Dev Singh entered Bundi and established his control on Ashadh Krishna Navami, Samvat 1298 (1241 CE).[73] Afterward, Dev Singh expanded the Bundi kingdom by seizing territories from various rulers: he took Khatpur from the Gaur leader Gajmal, Pattan from Manohardas, Gaihnoli and Lakheri from the

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[72] Vanshbhaskar, second part, page 1624

[73] **Gaj nav barah abd gat, sak vikram samband.**
Din navami Ashadh badi, Meenāṁ toṛi madandh.
Māri sakal imi pāi madhu, rākhī sanātan rāh.
Dhaki līdhī Bundī dharā, Devai Kanwar dubāh.
(In the 9th day of Ashadh, the 12th year of the era,
Dev Singh, having defeated the Meenas, became victorious.
He killed them all, achieved great success, and preserved the eternal path.
He captured Bundi's land, and Kanwar Dev Singh firmly established his rule Vanshbhaskar, second part, page 1626 - 27

Gaurs, and later the parganas of Karwar from Jaskaran. To show his devotion to his father, Gangdev, Dev Singh constructed the Gangeshwari Devi temple to the east of Umarthun and also built a stepwell (bawdi) there.[74]

He defeated the royal army - During this period, Dev Singh also had to face the army of the Sultan of Delhi. The army of Nasiruddin Mahmud, under the leadership of General Mustafa Ali, had advanced from Bambaavde and was stationed near Lakheri. There, they committed cow slaughter, which enraged Dev Singh. He launched an attack on them, killed the Muslims, and achieved victory.[75] (Nasiruddin ascended the throne in 1246 CE, so this army must have belonged to one of the incapable brothers of Razia Begum who had occupied the throne for short periods before Nasiruddin.)

His death - Dev Singh called his father to Bundi and welcomed him with great pomp and sent him off after making him stay for a few days. Shortly after this, when Gangdev died, Dev Singh annexed the hereditary kingdom to Bundi.[76] Thus, having established a vast kingdom with his might and increasing the glory of his family by defeating many strong enemies, Dev Singh crowned his eldest son Samar Singh on Vaishakh Shukla 9, Samvat 1300 and took up Sanyas.[77]

Samarsi - Samar Singh, son of Rao Deva, ascended the throne in Samvat 1300 (1243 CE). At this time, the kingdom of Hada had spread to the left bank of the Chambal river.

Kingdom of Bhils - The capital of the Bhils was at Akelagarh (about 5 miles south-west of Kota) on the right bank and the Bhils ruled the surrounding region. The Bhil people

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74 Above mentioned page 1626 - 27.

75 Above mentioned page 1626. Nasiruddin ascended the throne in 1246, so this army must have belonged to one of those incompetent brothers of Razia Begum who briefly sat on the throne before Nasiruddin

76 Vanshbhaskar, Part II, page 1637.

77 Above, page 1637.
Tod - Rajasthan, Volume 2, page 505.

were spread from Akelagarh to Manoharthana along the Mukandra mountain ranges in the south-east. They had established small kingdoms in many places, but their culture was not advanced. The ruins of the wall of Akelagarh show that these people used to build very simple forts and live in them and would have ruled over a radius of twenty to twenty-five miles at the most.

Bundi's authority over Kota city and expansion of the kingdom - When the capital of the Hadas was established in Bundi and the boundary of their kingdom reached Chambal, these people started creating disturbance in the Bundi kingdom and started disturbing the peace of the region. Therefore, Samarsi had to cross Chambal and suppress these people. He was not satisfied with suppressing the Bhils. To expand his kingdom further, he snatched Kaithoon, Siswali, Barod, Railavan, Ramgarh, Mau, and Sangod etc. places from Gaud, Pawar, Med, etc. Rajputs and annexed them to his kingdom. Samarsi did not eradicate these people. He only made them accept his supremacy and reinstated them to their positions.

Kotya Bhil was killed and Kota city was established – Near Akel Garh, Samarsi had a fierce battle with a Bhil named Kotya in which 900 Bhils and 300 Hada soldiers were killed. Kotya fled from the battle and hid somewhere to save his life.[78] After returning victorious to Bundi, Samarasi married his third son, Jetsi, to the daughter of a Tanwar chieftain of Kaithun. While Jetsi was staying at his in-laws' house, he planned to establish a small independent state for himself by eliminating the Bhils of Akelgarh. With the permission of his father-in-law and the help of his father, Jetsi destroyed the Bhils. To eliminate them, Jetsi used the same tactics that Devsingh had used to take Bundi from the Meenas. He had a fort built and filled a tunnel beneath it with gunpowder. The Bhils were invited to a feast, seated inside the fort, made to drink heavily, and at an opportune moment, the gunpowder was ignited. Many Bhils died in the fire, and the

[78] Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 1678–79, Appendix 14

remaining ones, along with their leader Kothya, died fighting bravely. In this battle, Sailarkhan, a Pathan, fought on Jetsi's side against the Bhils and was killed. In this way, in Samvat 1321 (1264 CE), after defeating the Bhils of Akelgarh, Jetsi took control of Kota city and built a gate called Sailargaji in memory of the Pathan Sailarkhan.[79] After this, the pargana (territory) of Kota remained a fief of the Bundi royal family.

The story of Samarasi's heroic end — Surajmal writes that when Alauddin Khilji besieged Chittorgarh, Samarasi, taking advantage of the Maharana's troubles, seized the fort of Mandalgarh.[80] However, he could not hold onto it for long, as Alauddin quickly sent part of his army to take it back.[81] Not only that, Alauddin's army also besieged Bambavde. Samarasi and his brother Harraj defended their ancestral fort for a long time, but in the end, both attained martyrdom while fighting.[82]

Naapooji, Jaitsingh's heroic end — After Samarasi, his eldest son Naapooji (Narpaal) sat on the throne of Bundi, and Jaitsingh ruled in Kota.[83] Jaitsingh, as the younger brother, served his elder brother in accordance with Rajput tradition. When Naapoo fought with Ropal, the Solanki chief of Toda, Jaitsingh was killed while fighting.[84] Like his father, Naapoo expanded his kingdom towards the right bank of the Chambal. He first attacked Maheshdas Khinchi of Palaytha. Naapooji lost in the first battle, but in the second attack, Maheshdas

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79 Thakur Laxmandan - History of Kota State.
Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 1679,Tod-Rajasthan, second part, page 506.

80 Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 1681

81 Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 1702.

82 Above, page 1705. This king cannot be Alauddin. It must be Balban

83 **Tab Narpaal sajjii dal satvar**,
Pratham chadhyo Khichchiy Mahes par.
Kota purahin prapaat kiy,
Drut tanh bandhu jugahi upadaa diy.(Then Narpaal, quickly assembling his army, First attacked Mahesh of Khichchiy. He reached Kota and made a descent, Quickly giving advice to his brother)
Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 1715.

84 Above, page 1714

fled from the battlefield,to protect his life, Napooji killed his brother, Paharsingh, and took control of the fort of Palaytha.

Victory in Palaytha - (Samvat 1340-50) In the battle of Palaytha, Napooji lost 100 soldiers, and Paharsingh lost 70 soldiers. Once the fort was under Napuji's control, he stationed 800 soldiers there for its defense and continued the battle with Maheshdas, in which Maheshdas was defeated and fled. Napooji's son, Hallu, showed great bravery in this battle.[85] This battle is not mentioned in Vansbhaskar. Samarsingh died around Samvat 1331 while fighting against Alauddin (?). Therefore, Napooji might have ascended the throne that very year. After a year or two, he must have conquered Palayatha, and the time of the conquest of Palayatha should have been between Samvat 1361 and 1363, i.e., the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Hallu's conquest of Siswali After Nāpū, Hammīrsingh and then Barsingh ascended the throne, but both ruled for a short time before Hallu took the throne. It seems that during his reign, the newly appointed Samant (official) of Sīsvālī attempted to assert independence. Therefore, Hallu attacked and brought it back under his control.[86]

War for the Reclamation of Ancestral Land - At this time, Bundī was focused on establishing peace in its territory and preventing enemy invasions. Sīsvālī, Barod, Rāmgarh, Kaithūn, Palayatha, and other places had been incorporated into the Hāda kingdom just a few years earlier. The Rajput officials in these areas had not yet forgotten their defeats, and whenever the opportunity arose, they attempted to regain their independence. On the other hand, Chittaurgarh still had its eye on Bambahwada. After the death of Alā'ud-Dīn, his empire was dismantled, and the Maharana of Mewār, having forgotten his previous defeats, not only became independent

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[85] *Vansbhaskar*, Third Part, pages 1727 and 1787 Appendix 15

[86] Vanshbhaskar, Third Part, Page 1787**. Terham Siswaliya Sahar Kiya Bundiyabas Jittikram**.
("Thirteenth Sīsvālī, conquered the city of Bundī, in the sequence of victories.")

but also began expanding his kingdom. Mewār established control over Bambahwada and Māndalgarh. The Hāda considered these cities as part of their ancestral lands. Hence, they continuously waged wars against Mewār to reclaim them. In these wars, Bambawada and Mandalgarh were sometimes under the control of Hada and sometimes under Mewar.

Surjan on the throne of Kota - After Jait Singh, his son Surjan started ruling Kota. His son Dhirdeh built twelve ponds around Kota. Out of these, eleven ponds are still present: Bada Talab, Kothi Talke Ka Talab, Abheda, Kansuan Ka Talab, Raipure Ka Talab, Tekhade Ka Talab, Rajpure Ka Talab, Bhandahera Ka Talab, Mowase Ka Talab, Lhasodaya Ka Talab, Arandkhede Ka Talab. There was a pond in Shripura, which is probably filled up now. In the time of Dhirdeh, Kota was situated within Kaithunipole. It seems that when the city started expanding, this pond was filled up. These twelve ponds were constructed in Samvat 1403 (1346 CE).[87]

Muslims' control over Kota and Bundi - In this dynasty, Jetawat Rai was born at the end of the fifteenth century. After this, his eldest son Biram ascended the throne. He used to be in Bundi for service and used to leave his younger brother Kanh to protect Kota. He was also lazy and careless. So, getting an opportunity, in Samvat 1603 (1546 CE), two Pathan soldiers named Kesar Khan and Dokar Khan snatched Kota at sword point. Biram's wife went to her father in Kaithoon and the rule of Muslims was established in Kota. About this time Bundi's situation was also unstable.[88] For three or four generations, the kingdom had been facing constant crises. Around Samvat 1520 (1463 CE) Biru ruled the throne of Bundi. He was a very weak and incompetent ruler. Seeing this situation, the Sultan of Malwa attacked Bundi, looted it and took away two child princes with him and converted them to Islam. Now they were named Samarqandi and Umarkandi. After Biru, his eldest son Bando ascended the throne. Due to his generosity, his name is immortal in the dynasty of Bundi,

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87 i Thakur Laxmandan
ii Tod - Rajasthan, Volume 2, page 506, note.

88 Thakur Laxmandan.

but he could not enjoy the throne for long. Samarqandi and Umarkandi attacked Bundi with the military help of the Sultan of Malwa and captured it. Bando, being dethroned, spent his days in great misery. He must have died around Samvat 1560.

Hada regains control over Bundi - Bandho's eldest son Narayan Das was brave and valiant. After his father's death, he took back Bundi from his atheist uncles and became so powerful that when the Sultan of Malwa attacked Udaipur, he helped the Maharana. He went to meet Maharana Sanga twice and was his great friend.[89] In the devastating battle of Kanwah, he fought on Sanga's side against Babar.[90]

Muslims attack again - Narayandas' son Suryamall was not incompetent but was short-sighted. Probably due to Ranthambore, Suryamall and Maharana Udaipur had a rift. A battle occurred between the two parties, in which both rulers were killed.[91] After Surjamall's death, Bundi faced a crisis again. His eldest son, Sultan Singh, who ascended the throne in Samvat 1588 (i.e., 1531 CE), was very incompetent and weak. During this time, Kesar khan and Dokar khan had already taken the kingdom of Kota from the Hadas. Taking advantage of this confusion, Raymal Khinchi seized the parganas around Sīsvālī and Barod. Sultan Singh was not capable of helping Kota, as he himself was in trouble. Seeing the disorder in Bundi and Kota, the Sultan of Malwa attacked Bundi. The city had already been looted twice by the Sultans of Malwa. The Hada people knew the strength of the Muslim forces, but they were still ready to fight to defend their ancestral land. However, who would lead them in battle? Sultan Singh, terrified, fled and took refuge with Raymal Khinchi.[92] Despite this, the brave Hadas managed to prevent Bundi from falling into Muslim hands and placed Sultan Singh’s elder son, Arjun, on the throne. Sultan Singh spent the rest of his life in Raymal Khinchi's shelter and established a

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89 Vanshbhaskar, Third Part, Page 2029.

90 Above, Page 2065.

91 Mahata Nainsi Ri Khayat. The cause of death of Suryamall given in Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 2185 is not reliable.

92 Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 2201
Tod-Rajasthan, volume 2, page 515.

small village named Sultanpur where he lived. In such a situation, who would defend Kota? The helpless, disgraced Biram wandered here and there, and his wife was spending her days with her father in Kaithoon. Kesar Khan and Dokar Khan were ruling the Kota autocratically.

A Fictional Story - Colonel James Todd had written an entertaining story about how these two Pathans were defeated and Kota was taken back. The queen of Biram, who resided in Kaithun,[93] was constantly worried about regaining her kingdom. As the festival of Holi approached, she devised a plan. She sent a message to Kesarkhan and Dokarkhan, saying that she wanted to come to Kota to play Holi with her young female servants. Upon hearing this, the indulgent Pathans were overjoyed. Meanwhile, the queen of Biram made preparations. She placed 300 Rajput youths in palanquins, armed them with weapons, and set off for Kota, sending Biram, adorned in arms, in the main carriage. The Pathans thought that the queen of Biram, with her young servants, was coming to play Holi. All the palanquins were brought inside the palace. However, as soon as Kesarkhan entered to welcome her, he was attacked by soldiers under Biram's leadership and killed. In this way, they gained control of the royal palace, and Kota was once again in the hands of the Hadas. After Biram's death, his son Dungar Singh sat on the throne of Kota, but he was removed by Rao Surajmal, who annexed the Kota-Bundi region.[94]

This story resembles that of Padmini - The above story appears to be fictional. The Pathans, who were considered so brave and were clever enough to snatch the Kota from the hands of a dynasty that had been established for generations. They were too clever to be deceived by the queen’s trick, and they could not have believed that a Rajput woman would be ready to play Holi with Pathans. How could they have trusted that a Rajput woman would engage in such

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[93] According to Tod, his name was Bhonang, but Thakur Laxmandan writes it as Biram

[94] Tod , Rajasthan,Volume 2, Page 506, note 2.

an act willingly? If such a thing had been proposed, the queen’s true plan would not have remained hidden. When 300 soldiers were concealed in palanquins and sent inside the palace, this would have been known to hundreds of men and women. In such a situation, it is not expected that this would remain secret among the Hindus, especially the Rajputs. Furthermore, when the Pathans ruled over the surrounding areas and forts, how could 300 Rajputs, after entering the fort through deceit, have survived? It seems that this story was fabricated by the bards who had forgotten the old history but could not forget Kesarkhan’s tomb, and they wanted to provide an interesting reason for how the Hadas had regained Kota. It appears that this narrative was created based on the story of Padmini, which had become historical in Rajput history. In the fifteenth century, Malik Muhammad Jayasi composed "Padmavat," in which he wrote about Alauddin’s infatuation with Padmini, seeing her reflection in the mirror, and her self-immolation along with Ratansen. The poor poet concluded by stating that this was not history and that Padmini and other characters were fictional. However, the bards, fascinated by the intrigue of the story, turned it into history. Later, Muslim historians, like the Farishta and others, also included it in their records. Although modern historical research has proven this to be purely a novel, this story, like the tale of the Black Dungeon of Calcutta, continues to be repeated.[95]

Rao Surjan Took Kota from the Pathans - In reality, Kota did not return easily into the hands of the Hadas. Significant preparations were required, and both sides fought fiercely. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Rao Surjan of Bundi's royal lineage became a highly powerful ruler. He restored the lost prestige and dignity and expanded the Bundi kingdom. During this time, there was no longer the threat of Malwa Sultanate’s invasions, as Akbar’s general, Adham Khan, had defeated Baz Bahadur of Malwa in 1560 CE, and Malwa was annexed to the Mughal Empire.[96] However, Bundi state

[95] V. A. Smith-Akbar the Great Mughal page 50

[96] Badhayoni – Translation Ranking, page 557-63

was still not secure. Kota and its neighboring territories were under the control of the Pathan brothers Kesarkhan and Dokarkhan. To the north of Kota, Rai Mal Khinchi had taken control. Sultan Singh had spent his days in Sultanpur. Other regions like Ramgarh and Palaytha must have been separated from Bundi as well. Therefore, to reclaim the entire area, Rao Surjan prepared a large army. Around 20 of his jagirdar brothers and many other Rajput leaders joined the army.[97] On the other side, Kesarkhan and Dokarkhan also assembled their forces for battle. Both sides prepared their armies and moved toward confrontation.

The two armies clashed two miles east of a village named Bhadana.[98] Rao Surjan's commander Bhai Man Singh attacked Kesar Khan and beheaded him. Enraged by the murder of his brother, Dokar Khan attacked Man Singh fiercely and beheaded him. It is said that even after his head was cut off, Man Singh continued fighting for a few moments.[99] Then Ram Singh, the Jagirdar of Ganauli, praising Man Singh's unmatched bravery, pounced on Dokar Khan and a fierce battle began.[100] Dokar Khan's nephew Mehrab Khan fought bravely.[101] A Hada warrior beheaded him but his body kept fighting. Then a Rajput warrior named Balkarn cut his body into two pieces.[102] After this, the battle became even more

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97 Vanshbhaskar third part page 2236

98 Vanshbhaskar, 3rd part, 2237

99 **Bhiri sis heen humaan kuchu khin bhan jyon hanto bhayo**."("With a frightened head and humble demeanor, as if a moment of defeat had arrived.")
Vanshbhaskar, 3rd part, page 2238

100 **Gainoli shaasak Ramsaahi saraahi daagar pai gayo ||**
Duv beer jutarahi dekh ke jhatke paraspar de jhare."("The ruler of Gainoli, Ramsaahi,praised and went to the battlefield. Seeing the two brave warriors fighting, they instantly exchanged blows with each other.") -Vanshbhaskar, 3rd part, page 2238

101 **Mehraab michchh bhateej hwaan badhi ghor sangar mandayo**."("The archway(Mehraab) Was decorated with a nephew, who then proceeded to prepare for a fierce battle.")- Vanshbhaskar, 3rd part, page 2238

102 "**Balkirn tahn tas bandhu kaay kavadh ko sudvidha karayo**."("Rather, there the relative carefully prepared the body

fierce. A Muslim named Ghulamnabi even shot two arrows at Rao Surjan and the Pathan warriors, abandoning the greed for life, started fighting with extraordinary courage and enthusiasm. In this attack, two Muslim heroes named Ghulamnabi and Rahim were killed. With the death of three main Muslim soldiers, the Pathans lost their foothold and they left the battlefield, fleeing towards Kota city.[103]

The Hādas, while chasing the retreating Pathans with great enthusiasm, fought a fierce battle inside the city. Dokarkhān's brother, Sālargājī, who was suffering from a severe illness at the time, still fulfilled his duty as a warrior and fought valiantly against the Hāda army. The battle continued for a long time, until a Rajput named Kīrtisiṅgh struck him with a sword, and he fell. Sūryamall writes that the place where Sālar Gājī attained martyrdom became known as Sālar Gājī gate.[104] Ṭhākur Lakṣmaṇdān writes that Sālar Gājī was a soldier of Jētsiṅgh, who gave his life while fighting against the Bhils in his master's army, and the present gate is a memorial to that brave warrior. It is unclear on what grounds these two authors have written these things, so it cannot be said which of the two accounts is more authentic. In this battle, Dokarkhān was also killed. The Pathans were defeated, and Kota, after being under Pathan control for 26

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armor (or protective gear) with great skill."). Vanshbhaskar, Part III, Page 2238

[103] Vanshbhaskar, Third Part, Page 2239.

[104] **Javnes Dāgar bhrāt rog asādhy tehuṁ jurayo tahāṁ□**
Sālāragājī nām jo taji manch saṁmuh sank bhyau□
Dalbhār haḍḍan dvār pūgat khagg haḍḍan le damyau□
Asi jhāri Kīrtisiṁh ṭoparu māri khaṭ bhaṭ so marayo□
Tas nām ajjahu dvār bajjat jarath jo bhavane tarayo□
(Javnes Dāgar's brother, suffering from an incurable disease, still joined the battle there.
Sālāragājī, leaving the stage, faced the enemy with no hesitation.
He fought fiercely at the Haddon gate, wielding his sword with power.
Kīrtisiṁh, swinging his sword, struck him down, and the warrior fell.
Even today, the gate is named after him, commemorating the brave who attained immortality in the battle.)-Vanshbhaskar, Part III, Page 2239

years, came back under the Hāda's control.[105] Many brave warriors of Rāo Surjan's army, including Bhadanā, were killed in the battle for Kota, but what was lost from the Hāda's hands was restored due to Rāo Surjan's enthusiasm and courage. This was a matter of glory and honor for him. The kingdom was regained due to the zeal and courage of Rao Surjan.

Reclaiming the Kingdom from the Khichis - After defeating the powerful Pathans, overcoming the Khichis and reclaiming the territories they had seized was not a significant challenge for Rao Surjan. The Khichi Rai Mal of Mau had occupied the northern regions of Kota, including the districts of Siswali and Barod. Rao Surjan successfully reclaimed these territories; however, the battle with the Khichis resulted in the death of the valiant Kirti Singh. Having restored his ancestral kingdom in its entirety, Rao Surjan returned triumphantly to Bundi, with the victory drums sounding in Kota.[106]

Three Centuries of Kota's Independence - The kingdom of Kota under the lineage of Jaitsi existed from Samvat 1321 (1264 CE) to Samvat 1618 (1561CE). When Beeram lost to the Pathans and fled, and the Pathans took control of Kota, it marked the end of the Hada dynasty's rule in the region. It appears that for nearly three centuries, Kota operated as an almost independent kingdom. Jaitsi established it but acknowledged his elder brother, the ruler of Bundi, as his sovereign and even fought for Bundi, losing his life in the process. Similarly, his descendants must have served Bundi, although the descendants of Jaitsi likely considered the Kota kingdom their own independently earned realm. However, when the Pathans seized control, it became the duty of Bundi's royal lineage to strive to reclaim their ancestral kingdom. For as long as the Sultans of Malwa dominated, and Bundi

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[105] **Tab Narapāl sajji dal satvar, pratham chaḍhyo khicciya Mahes par**. Then King Narpal swiftly prepared his army and was the first to charge upon the fierce Mahesh.

Koṭā su abd chhabīs taiṁ gat, ganji appan yon muratho (Kota, which had been lost for twenty-six years, was reclaimed and restored to its rightful glory) Vanshbhaskar, Part III, Page 2239.

[106] Vanshbhaskar, Third Part, Page 2241

lacked a powerful ruler, Kota remained under the control of the Pathans for approximately 25 years. However, as soon as Rao Surjan felt the strength in his arms and Akbar put an end to the power of the Sultans of Malwa, Rao Surjan reclaimed Kota and its surrounding territories.

Rao Surjan's Reign and Strength - Rao Surjan now ruled an expansive territory. His dominion stretched from Ranthambore to Kota and from Ramgarh to Bundi without any significant opposition. The Khichis of Mau acknowledged his might, and he had eradicated the Pathans. Not only were the forts of Bundi and Kota under his control, but also the formidable fortress of Ranthambore, where he primarily resided. Several battles had occurred between Bundi and Mewar during this period, with Bundi experiencing both victories and defeats. Nevertheless, the Hada rulers of Bundi were renowned as ancient rulers and valiant warriors.

Akbar's Failed Attempt to Capture Ranthambore - Around Samvat 1617 (1560 CE), Akbar, whose fortune was now rising brilliantly across the Indian sky, sought to conquer Ranthambore. After killing Hemu Bakkal, he had annexed Gwalior and Jaunpur to his kingdom by occupying Delhi and Agra, Akbar turned his attention to Ranthambore, one of the most famous forts in Rajasthan. Akbar may have believed that Rao Surjan, having recently consolidated his kingdom, would be easy to dislodge. His advisors likely suggested that Ranthambore was weaker than Chittor and therefore a simpler target. However, Akbar’s efforts to capture Ranthambore were unsuccessful,[107] as he had not yet amassed sufficient strength to defeat Rao Surjan.

Akbar's Campaign Against Chittor - In Samvat 1624 (September 1567 CE), Akbar prepared to conquer Chittor and laid siege to its fort in October. Maharana Udai Singh entrusted the defense of the fort to Fatta and Jaimal before fleeing to save his life. In Phalgun (February 23, 1568ce), Jaimal, the valiant Rathore of Bednor, fell to Akbar’s bullet.

[107] V. A. Smith - Akbar the Great Mughal page 42.

With no courageous warrior left to defend the fort, the women of Chittor protected their honor through a horrific act of jauher (self-immolation), signaling Akbar's victory.[108] Akbar entered Chittor, massacred thousands of Rajputs, and established his control over the fort.

The Siege of Ranthambore and Surjan's Ten Conditions -Buoyed by his victory at Chittor, Akbar prepared to conquer the fortress of Ranthambore in Samvat 1626 (early 1569 CE). Since he had failed in his previous attempt, Akbar assembled a formidable army and used lessons learned from the conquest of Chittor. In the month of Phalgun (February 1569 CE), he laid siege to Ranthambore. Trenches were dug all around, and explosives were planted in the moats to ensure success. Akbar anticipated that the siege would last for a long time.[109]

The siege continued for several months, but Rao Surjan bravely resisted. At this point, Bhagwant Singh Kachhwaha advised Akbar, saying that capturing Ranthambore would not be as easy as Chittor. At Chittor, incidentally Jaimal died, otherwise, the siege could have lasted for years. Bhagwant Singh Kachhwaha further advised Akbar that it would be wise to accept the conditions set forth by Rao Surjan and diplomatically gain control of the fort.[110] Akbar agreed to this proposal, and Man Singh began negotiations with Rao Surjan regarding the terms. Rao Surjan presented ten conditions, stating that if these were accepted, Ranthambore would be surrendered to Akbar. When these terms were conveyed to Akbar, he doubted their authenticity and remarked, "You Hindus are loyal to your own and are deceiving me with fabricated stories." To resolve this suspicion, Man Singh disguised Akbar as a servant and brought him inside the fort to meet Rao Surjan. There, discussions about the terms took place in Akbar's presence. When Man Singh told the Surjan not to be adamant on this issue and to accept the Emperor's

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[108] V. A. Smith - Akbar the Great Mughal page 81-89
[109] V.A. Smith – Akbar the Great Mughal page 98
[110] Vanshbhaskar, Part III, Page 2264 Appendix 16

orders, then Rao Surjan, enraged, placed his hand on his mustache and declared that the fort could only be ceded under two conditions: either the entire Hada clan is wiped out, or conditions are accepted that safeguard the ancient traditions of his lineage. After extensive discussions on this matter, Man Singh and Akbar returned, and the following ten conditions were written and sent to Rao Surjan:

1-The emperor will not demand a daughter in marriage.
2-The queens of Bundi will not attend the *Nauroz* festival.
3-The Bundi ruler will not be sent on service beyond Attock.
4-The Bundi ruler will enter the *Diwan-e-Aam* and *Diwan-e-Khas* armed.
5-The Bundi contingent's *naqqara* (war drum) will be played up to the doors of the royal palace.
6-The horses of Bundi will not be branded.
7-Bundi forces will not fight under the leadership of any Aryan king.
8-The Bundi state will not pay *jaziya* (tax on non-Muslims).
9-Temples in Bundi will not be destroyed.
10-Just as Delhi is the capital of the Mughals, Bundi will be considered the capital of the Hadas.[111]

Akbar's official historian, Abul Fazl, narrates the story of the conquest of Ranthambore in a different manner. He states that when the emperor waged an intense battle, "Surjan was greatly astonished, and his mind became overwhelmed."

Under the emperor's dominance, Surjan's heart began to tremble. Seeking intercession, he sent his sons, Doodha and Bhoj, to the royal court through the mediation of influential courtiers. With the recommendation of imperial nobles, the two were able to meet the emperor.[112]

In this account, there is no mention of the seven conditions described in *Vanshbhaskar* or the ten conditions noted by Todd. However, there is no doubt that conditions

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[111] (i) Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 2265.
(ii) Tod - Rajasthan Volume 2, page 518.
(iii) V.A. Smith - Akbar the Great Mughal, page 99.

[112] Akbarnama, safha 337. Appendix 16

were agreed upon. This is evident because the Mughal emperors never demanded a bride from the rulers of Bundi, never imposed the Jaziya tax on their state, and when Shahjahan ordered them to cross the Attock, they reminded him of these conditions and returned to Bundi.[113] Akbar, while accepting the ten conditions, also ordered that in exchange for Ranthambore, Rao Surjan could take possession of seven parganas.

Akbar also conveyed through Man Singh that if Rao Surjan desired more territory, he could conquer Gondwana. At that time, Gondwana was not under Akbar's control, so granting permission to conquer it was a strategic move. Rao Surjan, in his natural generosity, failed to see through this political ploy. He perceived it as an act of extraordinary magnanimity by the Emperor. Hence, he sent a reply that he would first establish the Emperor's authority in Gondwana and then claim the seven districts.[114]

Once all matters were settled, Rao Surjan brought out his accumulated wealth, two idols of Vishnu, and two cannons from the fort and handed it over to Akbar. One of these cannons was named "Dhuldhani," and the other "Karak Bijli."[115] Among the idols, one was installed in a temple built in Bundi, while the other remained in Bundi for some time before being relocated to Baran, where Raoratan's mother constructed a temple to house it. This temple is now known as the Kalyanrayji Temple.[116]

The End of Hada Independence — The conquest of Ranthambhore marked the final day of the Hadas' independence. From the eighth to the sixteenth century, the Chauhans had maintained an independent kingdom. Muhammad Ghori had acquired the throne by killing Prithviraj, not by defeating him. In this manner, while defending the fort of Bambavade, Samar Singh and Harraj also

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[113] Vanshbhaskar, fourth part, Shatrushal Charit.
[114] Vanshbhaskar, Third Part, Page 2268
[115] Above page 2271.
[116] (i) Pandit Ramkaran - Ahwale Riyasat Kota.
(ii) Vanshbhaskar, Third Part, Page 2245.

attained martyrdom, and only then was Alauddin Khilji able to establish his control over the fort. The Sultanates of Malwa attacked Bundi several times, plundering it; two royal princes were even converted to Islam. However, the Hadas never bowed down to the Muslims. Kesarkhan and Dorakkhan ruled in Kota for 26 years, driving out Biram, but even then, the Hadas did not lose hope and continued waiting for an opportune moment to reclaim their kingdom. Eventually, Rao Surjan defeated the Pathans and successfully regained control of Kota. Rao Surjan established the most extensive kingdom ever under the control of a Hada ruler. Although he was wise and powerful, unfortunately, the era of the Ghulam, Khilji, Tughlaq, Sayyid, and Lodi dynasties had passed. The ruler of India at that time was the mighty and ambitious Emperor Akbar. In such circumstances, even a valiant warrior like Rao Surjan had no choice but to peacefully surrender Ranthambore to Akbar and accept his suzerainty, especially since Akbar had already conquered Chittorgarh and Man Singh had formed familial ties with Akbar, becoming his loyal supporter.

Rao Surjan Becomes a Mansabdar of Akbar - After surrendering Ranthambore, Rao Surjan became a feudal lord under Akbar. Akbar stationed his soldiers in the fort, and on his return to Delhi, he ordered Rao Surjan to conquer Gondwana. Rao Surjan accepted the Mughal emperor's service and marched towards Gondwana with his own forces and some of Akbar's troops. After some resistance, the Gond king surrendered. Rao Surjan established Mughal authority in the Gond capital, Barigarh, and to commemorate his victory, he built a gateway called "Surajpole." The Gond king agreed to Rao Surjan’s terms and accepted Akbar’s suzerainty. Rao Surjan brought him to Delhi and presented him before Akbar.[117] Pleased with Rao Surjan’s valiant deeds, Akbar honored him with the title of "Rao Raja"[118] and formally

[117] Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 2284-88
[118] Page 2290 mentioned above

inducted him into the Mughal army, granting him a mansab of 5,000.[119]

Before Rao Surjan's campaign to Gondwana, Akbar had promised him additional territories, a promise he fulfilled. Twenty-six districts near Bundi were added to the Bundi state, and 26 districts near Banaras were also granted.[120] Additionally, Rao Surjan was appointed governor of Banaras and Chunar. Residing in Banaras, he constructed several magnificent palaces and ghats along the banks of the Ganges. Due to his generosity and benevolence, Rao Surjan's name became renowned across Kashi (Banaras). Eventually, Rao Surjan passed away in Banaras.[121] Rao Surjan had three sons: Bhoj, Duda, and Raymal.

Bhoj's rule over Kota state - Kota was handed over to Bhoj by Rao Surjan after taking it away from Muslims. Bhoj did not rule Kota only as a jagirdar, but mostly as an independent ruler. Kota was not called the state of Bundi but was called the kingdom of Bhoj.[122] Similarly, the descendants of Jaitsi previously ruled Kota. In fact, Rao Surjan had reestablished the traditional system of governance.

Hridaynarayan, as the ruler of Kota - After the death of his father, when Rao Bhoj ascended the throne, he appointed his younger son, securing approval for this decision from Emperor Akbar as well.[123] Hridaynarayan ruled Kota for approximately 15 years, and his memorial still stands in Ksharbagh. He is considered the progenitor of the Hardavat chieftains. Just as Rao Surjan had appointed Bhoj as the ruler of Kota, Rao Bhoj similarly placed Hridaynarayan on the throne of Kota.

This tradition had persisted for over three centuries, but it could no longer continue under the prevailing circumstances. This was the era of Akbar's rule, during which Rajput independence had been obliterated. Except for Mewar,

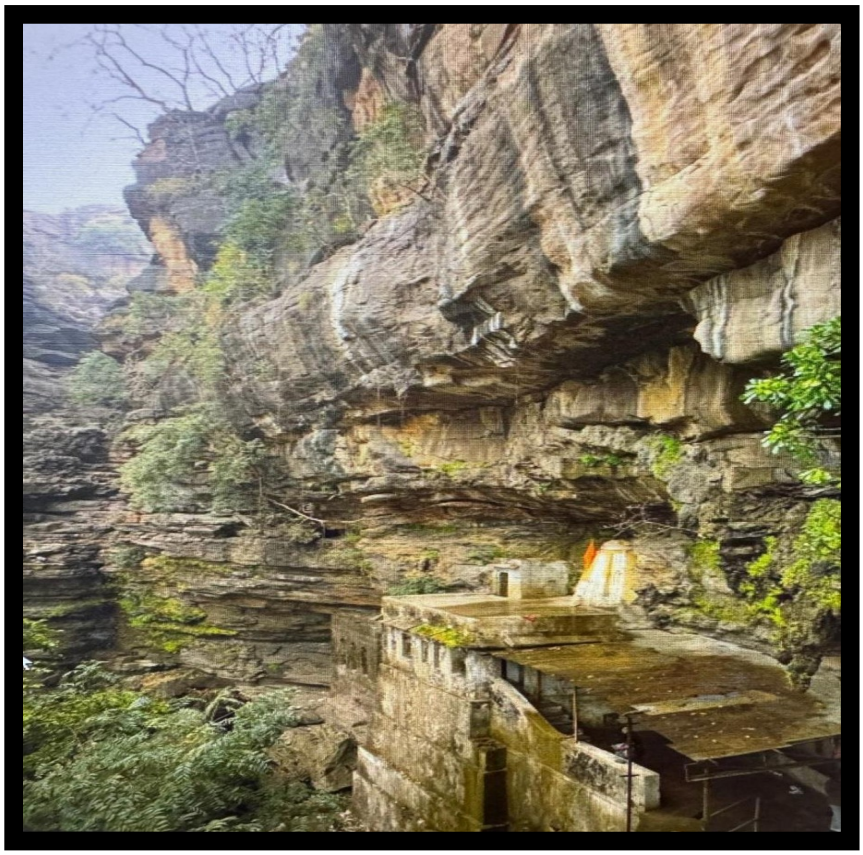
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[119] Page 2290 mentioned above.
[120] Page 2289 mentioned above.
[121] Tod - Rajasthan Volume 2, page 519-20
[122] Geparnath's rock inscription. See Appendix 16
[123] Tod-Rajasthan Volume 2, page 521, foot note

Akbar had compelled all other Rajput rulers to accept subjugation and established Ajmer as a provincial administrative unit (subah) encompassing the Rajput territories. Akbar did not recognize Rajput kings as the traditional sovereign rulers of their states; instead, he regarded them merely as his landlords (zamindars). Under Akbar's administrative system, the independent existence of states like Amer, Bundi, or Marwar was not acknowledged. Ajmer’s subah (province) was divided into several administrations, and each administration consisted of multiple parganas (territories). The Rajput kingdoms, which were referred to as zamindaris, were included in various administrations. After capturing Ranthambore, Akbar made it one of the administrations of Ajmer and gave the parganas of Bundi and Kota under its jurisdiction.

According to this system, Rao Bhoj could not independently appoint Hridaynarayan as the ruler of Kota, as Kota was a pargana that belonged to the administration of Gadh Ranthambore and the subah of Ajmer, not Bundi. Therefore, Hridaynarayan could only receive the zamindari (land rights) of Kota through a royal decree from the emperor. That is why Hridaynarayan obtained the royal decree from Akbar for the kingdom of Kota, and based on this, he was recognized as the ruler of Kota. Even so, Hridaynarayan did not sever ties with Bundi. He continued to obey the orders of his father and then his brother, Rao Ratan.

7
Rao Ratan Singh



Geparnath Mahadev Mandir, Kota - 16th Century

Several inscriptions dating back to medieval times have been discovered at the site, shedding light on the patronage of the temple during the reign of various Rajput rulers. The inscriptions also provide valuable historical records about the political climate and religious practices of the time.

Rao Ratan Singh

Rao Ratan Ascended the Throne — Rao Bhoj was a highly respected and powerful noble in Akbar's court. He displayed great bravery during the siege of Ahmednagar, for which Akbar constructed the "Bhoj Burj" (tower) in his honor and awarded him an elephant. In this attack, Ahmednagar's valiant woman warrior Chand Bibi and her 700 brave maid servants were killed.

Rao Bhoj had three sons: Ratan, Hridaynarayan, and Keshavdas. He appointed Hridaynarayan as the ruler of Kota, granted Keshavdas the jagir of Dheepri along with 27 villages, and after his death, Rao Ratan ascended the throne[124] At that time, Rao Ratan was 34 years old.[125]

Attained High Honor in the Mughal Court — Rao Ratan achieved even more fame and honor in Jahangir's court than his father. He was made a *Panjhazari Mansabdar* (commander of 5,000), awarded the titles of *Sarbulland Rai* and *Ramraj*, and received royal insignias such as the saffron flag and naqqara (drum). He was considered a pillar of Jahangir's empire. Rao Ratan was not only renowned for his bravery but also for his sense of justice. While he earned fame in the Mughal court, he also expanded his kingdom and increased its wealth and prestige.

His Extraordinary Sense of Justice — The sense of justice displayed by Rao Ratan in his kingdom is not only unparalleled in the history of Bundi or India but is worthy of being recorded in golden letters in world history. He had three sons: Gopinath, Madhosinghji, and Harisingh. Gopinath was immoral and licentious. He was infatuated with a Brahmin woman, and his disgraceful behavior became widely known in the city. At that time, Rao Ratan often stayed in the south.

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[124] Tod - Rajasthan Volume 2, Page 520-21

[125] Vansh Prakash, Page 121.

Provoked by the prince's misconduct, one day a group of Brahmins collectively killed him.

When Rao Ratan returned to his capital and learned of the incident, he bore the news with remarkable composure, swallowing his grief like a bitter poison. The Brahmin killers were greatly distressed, but Rao Ratan reassured them and did not punish anyone.[126]

Seizing Mau from the Khichis — On the banks of the Chambal River, regions like Palayatha, Ramgarh, and Siswali had already acknowledged the dominion of the Hadas. However, the Khichis of Mau often oscillated between subjugation and independence. At one point, they had even taken control of several parganas north of Kota. By this time, Rao Ratan's power had grown significantly, bolstered by the favor of the Mughal Emperor. He launched an attack on Mau, defeated the Khichis, and annexed their palaces and territories.

His amazing justice - The justice that Rao Ratan had shown in his kingdom is worth writing in golden letters, not just in the history of Bundi or India, but in the history of the world. He had three sons, Gopinath, Madhosinghji, and Hari Singh. Gopinath was a characterless and lustful man. He was infatuated with a Brahmin woman, and the news of this had spread all over the city. At that time Rao Ratan used to stay mostly in the south. One day, enraged by the misbehavior of the prince, the Brahmins together killed him. When Rao Ratan came to his capital and came to know the whole matter, he calmed down and remained calm as if he had swallowed poison. The killer Brahmins were very distressed, but Rao Ratan assured them and did not punish anyone.[127]

Mau was snatched from the Khinchis - Palaitha, Ramgarh, Siswali, etc. - on the right side of Chambal had already accepted the supremacy of the Hadas, but the

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[126] i Vanshbhaskar, Part III, Page 2446.
ii Tod - Rajasthan Volume 2, Page 523.

[127] (i) Vanshbhaskar, Part III, Page 2446
(ii)Tod-Rajasthan Volume II,Page 523

Khinchis of Mau used to become subservient and independent at times. Some time ago, these people had also captured many parganas to the north of Kote. Now Rao Ratan's power had increased a lot, and he also had the strength of the Mughal emperor's grace. Therefore, he attacked Mau and defeated the Khinchis and took over their palaces and parganas. [128]

In this battle, Rao Ratan was accompanied by his two brothers, Hridaynarayan and Keshavdas, as well as his two sons, Madhosinghji and Harisingh. Keshavdas and the one hundred soldiers fighting alongside him were killed in the battle.[129]

Khurram's Rebellion - Rao Ratan's prestige in the Mughal court significantly increased, particularly due to his role during Khurram's rebellion. The assistance Rao Ratan provided to the emperor during this rebellion was greatly valued by the people of Bundi, who considered him the primary protector of the empire.[130]

At this time, the state of Jahangir's court had become deplorable. Nur Jahan desired to make her son, Shahryar, the successor to Jahangir. However, her powerful brother Asaf Khan had already married his daughter to Prince Khurram, so he supported Khurram's claim. Khurram had already accumulated substantial power, commanding a large army and immense wealth. Nur Jahan's intrigues eventually pushed Khurram toward rebellion. Many renowned nobles sided with Khurram, and Maharana Karn Singh of Mewar offered him significant support.

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[128] Vanshbhaskar, Part III, Page 2479.

[129] Vanshbhaskar, Third Volume, Page 2479

[130] "**Sagar phootyo jal bahyo, ab keen karo jatan. Jato garh Jahangir ko, rakhyo Rao Ratan**. (Tod-Rajasthan, Second Volume, Page 521) ("The reservoir burst, and the water flowed; what efforts could now contain it?The fort, which belonged to Jahangir, was kept secure by Rao Ratan.")

8
Establishment Of Kota State

Rao Ratan and Hridaynarayan went to pacify the rebellion. Worried about Khurram's rebellion, Noorjahan invited Rajput and Muslim chieftains, in response to which Mahabat Khan and many Rajput kings prepared to protect the empire. Rao Ratan, along with his two sons Madhosinghji and Hari Singh, left from Bundi and Hridaynarayan left with his army from Kota.[131] This was the beginning of the establishment of Kota State.

Bhim Singh became Khurram's commander - Rebelling, Khurram moved from south to north in Samvat 1679. While moving north from Mathura, he was defeated by the royal army in the battle of Bilochpur.[132] He fled from there after being defeated and looting Amer,[133] taking refuge with Maharana of Udaipur.[134] He stayed here for a few days. The Maharana gave him good hospitality and was pleased with him and while leaving he made the Maharana his brother by exchanging his turban with him. This turban was with him till this day. The time is preserved in the museum of Udaipur.[135] While bidding farewell to the Maharana, Khurram took his

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131 1 Ishwari Prasad - *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, Pages 514-15.
2 - Ojha - *Rajputane Ka Itihas* (History of Rajputana), Volume III, Page 825.

132 Beni Prasad - *Jahangir*, Pages 259-60.

133 *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* - English Translation, Volume 2, Page 238.

134 **dillīśvarāj jahāṅgīrāt tasya khurramam ātmajam sutaṃ vimukhatāṃ prāptaṃ sthāpayitvā nija-kṣitau ||rājapraśasti mahākāvya, sarga 5**
From the emperor of Delhi, Jahangir, his son Khurram,
Who had turned disloyal, was restored to his rightful domain.
(*Rajaprasasti Mahākāvya*, Canto 5)

135 Ojha - *Rajputane Ka Itihas* (History of Rajputana), Volume III, Page 824.

younger brother Bhim Singh with him and appointed him as his chief commander.

Rao Ratan met Prince Parvez - To suppress Prince Khurram, the royal army headed towards the south under the leadership of Mahabat Khan and Prince Parvez. Rao Ratan left Bundi and joined this army. Parvez, Mahabat Khan, and Rao Ratan then started making plans to defeat Khurram.

Rao Ratan tried for a treaty - When Khurram was defeated by the royal army in Mandu, he ran and crossed the Narmada and fortified on the left bank and prepared to fight. When the royal army saw that crossing the Narmada was not an easy task and Khurram also realized that facing that huge army was a daring act, both the parties made Rao Ratan the mediator and talks for a treaty began. Unfortunately, the terms could not be decided and preparations for war began. The royal army finally crossed the Narmada and attacked the prince. In this fierce battle, Rao Ratan and Madhosinghji fought very bravely.[136]

Khurram surrounded Burhanpur - Thus, after being defeated by the royal army, Khurram left for Burhanpur. The royal army was constantly chasing him. Rao Ratan and Madhosinghji were also among those chasing him. Facing many difficulties, Khurram reached Burhanpur. He entered the fort and got ready to fight the royal army. The royal army surrounded the fort and Rao Ratan started trying to win with great courage and enthusiasm. Prince Khurram could not maintain his hold on the fort for long. He fled from the fort when he got the chance. In this siege, Rao Ratan gained great fame due to his bravery. Madhosinghji Ji also participated in the battle and displayed Kshatriya-like bravery.

Birth and childhood of Madhosinghji – Madhosinghji was the second son of Rao Ratan. He was born on Jyeshtha

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136 i. *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* (R. & B.), Volume 2, Page 278.
ii. Beni Prasad - *Jahangir*, Page 370.
iii. Munshi Moolchand.

Shukla 3 Samvat 1656 in Bundi city.[137] His mother was the daughter of Balanot Thakur of Arandkheda under Bundi state.[138] Until the age of fourteen, he mostly stayed in Bundi and kept on receiving religious education and weaponry. At a young age, he had become well acquainted with the art of war and the use of weapons. He was very skilled in horse riding. To gain knowledge of religious scriptures, he had also practiced some Sanskrit language. Till this time, his father Rao Ratan had not been able to get any job in the Mughal government but had gone with his father Bhoj to Akbar's battles once or twice.[139]

First time in battle - It is assumed that Madhosinghji must have first gone to war with his father in Samvat 1671 (1614 CE). At this time Malik Ambar had created havoc in the south. He was a wonderful, brave, clever ruler and a skilled commander. He was the minister of the Nizamshahi kings of Ahmedabad. He had made many reforms related to governance in their kingdom. He was the first one to teach the Marathas the guerilla method. After strengthening the Nizamshahi kingdom, he started confronting the Mughal Empire. Prince Parvez was sent to suppress them. But when success was not achieved for a long time and the royal army lost many battles, Prince Parvez was called back and the army command was handed over to Prince Khurram, and Rao Ratan was appointed with Khurram. Fearing the attack of Prince Khurram, Malik Ambar made peace and returned to the conquered part of the Mughal Empire.[140] There is no description of Malik Ambar's atrocities in Charitra Ratnawali, but it is written that Madhosinghji displayed great bravery in the battle of Burhanpur at the age of 14. If Madhosinghji was indeed involved in a battle with his father at the age of 14, then this battle could be between Prince Khurram and Malik

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137 Bakshikhana - The birth chart of Madhosinghji.
Munshi Moolchand, based on *Charitratnavali*, recorded the birth of Madhosinghji in Samvat 1657.

138 Thakur Lakshmandan.

139 Munshi Moolchand, Page 68.

140 Munshi Moolchand, Page 70.

Ambar, which took place in Samvat 1671. At this time Madhosinghji was also 15 years old.[141]

Madhosinghji with Rao Ratan in Burhanpur - Prince Khurram In Burhanpur, Madhosinghji stayed with Rao Ratan as Prince Khurram suffered two defeats and retreated to Golconda However, he received little support there and proceeded towards Odisha.[142] The royal army set up camp in Burhanpur, striving to restore peace in the surrounding regions and create a hostile environment against the rebellious prince. Rao Ratan was appointed the governor of Burhanpur, and his two sons, Madhosinghji and Harisingh, stayed with him. Meanwhile, Prince Khurram established his dominance in Bengal and Odisha. His commander, Raja Bhim Singh, captured Bihar. Following this, the prince seized the fortress of Rohtas.[143] He then began preparations to take control of Awadh and Allahabad. Raja Bhim Singh and Abdul Khan were dispatched towards Allahabad.

Upon hearing of their advance, the governor of Jaunpur fled, and Raja Bhim Singh's army set up camp ten miles from Prayag (Allahabad). Abdul Khan laid siege to the Allahabad fort, where the royal fort commander, Rustam Khan, stood firm in resistance. This stalemate continued for some time. News of Khurram's victories constantly reached Mahabat Khan and Prince Parvez. The emperor ordered them to proceed to defend Awadh and Allahabad. While departing from Burhanpur, Prince Parvez was appointed the guardian of Burhanpur fort and the governor of the surrounding region.

During this period, Madhosinghji had an excellent opportunity to study the military and political conditions and developments. The royal army camped in Burhanpur and efforts were made to establish peace in the surrounding region and to create an atmosphere against the rebellious prince. Raoratan became the ruler of Burhanpur and his two sons Madhosinghji and Hari Singh started living with him. On the

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141 *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* (R. & B.), Volume 1, Page 219.

142 *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* (R. & B.), Page 287

143 Iqbalnama, page 221-22.
E. & D. Volume 4, pages 410-11

other hand, Prince Khurram established his dominance in Bengal and Orissa. His commander Raja Bhim Singh captured Bihar. After this, the prince conquered the fort of Rohtas. Then he started preparing to capture Awadh and Allahabad. Raja Bhim Singh and Abdullah Khan were sent towards Allahabad. On hearing the news of his attack, the ruler of Jaunpur fled, and the army of Raja Bhim Singh camped ten miles away from Prayag. Abdullah Khan surrounded the fort of Allahabad. The royal fort-keeper Rustam Khan also stood firm to face him. This situation continued for a long time. Meanwhile, news of Khurram's victory kept reaching Mahabat Khan and Prince Parvez. The emperor also ordered them to leave for Raoratan to protect Awadh and Allahabad. While departing from Burhanpur, Prince Parvez was made the protector of the fort of Burhanpur and the ruler of the surrounding area.[144] At this time Madhosinghji got a good opportunity to study the military and political situation and movement.

Hriday Narayan fled from the battlefield – RaoRatan sent Hriday Narayan along with Mahabat Khan and Parvez on the orders of the emperor.[145] As soon as this army reached near Allahabad, Abdullah Khan lifted the siege and retreated and camped his army in Jhunsi. On the banks of the Tons river, he built mud walls and stationed artillery. The royal army was eighty thousand and Khurram's army was only ten thousand. Abdullah Khan did not want an attack to be made. He was of the opinion that the royal army should be harassed by moving here and there and starve to death, but Raja Bhim Singh considered this against the Kshatriya strategy. He clearly said that if an attack is not made immediately, he will leave Khurram's army and go away. Khurram had to obey Raja Bhim Singh and decided to fight. The royal army immediately surrounded Khurram's army and showered bullets and arrows. Raja Bhim Singh, despite being wounded by many wounds, kept fighting bravely till the last moment of his life. Khurram's

[144] (i) Iqbalnama, page 224-228.
(ii) E. & D. Volume 4, page 412-14.
(iii) Khafi Khan, Volume 1, page 348.
(iv) Tod - Rajasthan, Volume 2, page 522-23

[145] Vanshbhaskar, Third Part, page 2486.

life was saved from the spot and Hridaynarayan ran away from the battlefield.[146]

Hridaynarayan removed from the throne of Kota - This incident must have taken place about a month after Ashwin Samvat 1680. Unhappy with Hridaynarayan's cowardice, Jahangir removed him from the throne of Kota. Rao Ratan temporarily took over the governance of Kota state and informed the Chaudhary of Pargana Kota about this matter on Paush Shukla 9 Samvat 1680.[147]

Madhosinghji was injured in the battle of Burhanpur - (Vaisakh Samvat 1681) When Mahabat Khan and Parvez marched towards Prayag, they left a small army in the south. Here Malik Ambar revolted and destroyed this army. Then the only protector of the royal side in the south was Rao Ratan, who kept the king's flag high in Burhanpur and the surrounding areas. In such a situation, Khurram crossed Orissa, Telangana and Golkunda and reached back to the south. Malik Ambar made friends with him, and it was arranged that Malik Ambar's army should lay siege to Burhanpur. Malik Ambar had already sent Yakub Khan for this work, but where is a brave warrior like Rao Ratan and where is poor Yakub Khan. He would sometimes lay siege and sometimes retreat. Thus, he kept failing again and again. Now Khurram made up his mind to conquer Burhanpur and camped his army near Lal Bagh. Khurram divided his army into two divisions.

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[146] (i) Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri - English translation (R. & B) Volume 2, Pages 294-96.
(ii) Iqbalnama, Pages 229-34.
(iii) E & D Volume 4, Pages 413-14.
(iv) Tod - Volume 2, Pages 294-95.
(v) Khafi Khan - Volume 1, Pages 346-56.
(vi) Vanshbhaskar, Third Part, Page 2496.

[147] Taliq of Lala Bhanwarlal Patwari - This Taliq contains a copy of the order of Rao Ratan, who was appointed in the name of Chaudhary Murari of Pargana Kota. Murari's family had been the Chaudhary of this pargana for a long time, which is confirmed by a Jahangiri decree. See Appendix No. 17

The leadership of one army was given to Abdulla Khan and the other to Shah Kuli Khan. Both armies attacked the fort from two sides. Abdulla Khan had to face a fierce battle with the Rajputs and could not even capture an inch of land. Defeated, the poor man retreated. Shah Kuli Khan entered the fort and even closed the doors, but after removing Abdulla Khan, the brave Rajputs attacked him with such a fierce fervor that he had to surrender. Even then Khurram did not lose courage and attacked again. But Vijay Lakshmi remained away from him. Many of his brave officers and soldiers were defeated. Then Rao Ratan came out of the fort with his two sons Madhosinghji and Hari Singh and attacked the prince's army. There were thousands of soldiers in Khurram's army, and Rao Ratan had only a handful of Rajputs with him; but Khurram's soldiers were weak, weak and demoralized, and Rao Ratan's soldiers were mad with the joy of victory. A fierce battle took place. Rao Ratan was victorious and Khurram fled. Rao Ratan captured his three hundred soldiers and looted a lot of goods. Madhosinghji and Hari Singh both fought very bravely in this war and both were badly injured. This was the first opportunity for Madhosinghji to display his bravery, and at this time he was about 25 years old.[148]

Madhosinghji became the independent king of Kota - (Samvat 1681) Many months before this incident, Hriday Narayan had been removed from the throne of Kota. Now, Jahangir was very pleased with Madhosinghji's bravery. Therefore, Rao Ratan saw this as a good opportunity to put him in place of Hriday Narayan. At this time, the kingdom of Kota was temporarily in the hands of Rao Ratan. Seeing the attitude of the Emperor, after Samvat 1681, Rao Ratan started

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[148] (1)Iqbalnama, page 243-44.
(2) E. & D., Volume 6, pages 395 and 418.
(3) Khafi Khan, Volume 1, Page 349-50.
(4) Ma-asir-ul-Umra, Volume 1, Page 261.
(5) Vanshbhaskar, Part III, page 2487, 2500-04.
(6) Munshi Moolchand, page 73-76.
(7) Muhammad Hadi- Titambaye-Vakbhaate Jahangiri

accepting Madhosinghji as the king of Kota and started waiting for its legal confirmation from the Emperor.[149]

Efforts for royal decree – Rao Ratan, on his part, had handed over Kota to Madhosinghji, but he had not received the royal decree yet. Hence, he could not be considered the permanent king of Kota. Hridaynarayan was placed on the throne of Kota by Rao Bhoj, but to make his position permanent, Hridaynarayan had to obtain a royal decree. Before and after the battle of Burhanpur, Jahangir was troubled first due to the rebellion of Khurram and then due to the rebellion of Mahabat Khan. was in grave trouble. Hence these years were not favorable for Rao Ratan to receive the decree. Apart from this, he would also fear that the rebel Khurram might cancel his father's decree after ascending the throne. Hence, with foresight, Rao Ratan wanted Prince Khurram to be friendly with Madhosinghji and accept him as the king of Kota after ascending the throne.

Khurram under the guardianship of Madhosinghji - After being defeated at Burhanpur, Khurram fled towards the south but was then imprisoned in Burhanpur.[150] Rao Ratan and Mahabat Khan both were rulers of Burhanpur. When Mahabat

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[149] Munshi Mulchand, based on a copper plate inscription, wrote that Madhosinghji had already obtained Kota independently before the year Samvat 1674. This copper plate was found by Munshi Mulchand while investigating the revenue records in the Binod Jagir of Palayatha.*There is a major objection to accepting this Samvat as the date of Madhosinghji’s acquisition of the kingdom. At that time, Hriday Narayan was the jagirdar of Kota, and the jagir was granted to him by royal decree. He had participated alongside Prince Khurram first in the battle of Mewar and then in the campaign against Malik Ambar. After a treaty with Malik Ambar, he was sent with the imperial army to conquer Kangra. (Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri – R. & B., Vol. 2, page 25)Until now, there had been no complaint against Rawartan or Emperor Jahangir regarding him. Wherever he was sent, he fought with valor and loyalty. Therefore, even for a famous and esteemed ruler like Rawartan, it would not have been an easy matter under Jahangir’s reign to remove his own brother and install his son as the ruler of Kota.- *Appendix No. 18

[150] Vanshbhaskar, Part III, Page 2499.

Khan was called to the royal court, Burhanpur remained in the control of Rao Ratan alone.[151] Rao Ratan appointed his younger son Harisingh to take care of Khurram, but he mistreated the prince a lot. He used to make Khurram fan himself, fill the hookah, and if the prince refused, he would punch him on the nose. The poor fellow did not even get time to eat hot roti. Fed up with this behavior, the prince complained to Rao Ratan. Then Rao Ratan removed Harisingh and appointed Kunwar Madhosinghji to keep an eye on Khurram, kept old servants with him, and ordered him to take care of him. Madhosinghji Ji and the other attendants were instructed to obey the prince's orders. Madhosinghji Ji treated the prince with respect and arranged all the things for his entertainment. This policy became the reason for Madhosinghji Ji's future glory and prosperity.[152]

Khurram's promise to Madhosinghji - Jahangir ordered Rao Ratan to present the rebel prince in the royal court, but Rao Ratan did not send him on the pretext of illness. When Jahangir did not agree, Rao Ratan became very worried. On one hand, there was a royal order and on the other, Khurram was praying to Rao Ratan to save his life. At that time, Rao Ratan was not in Burhanpur. He secretly sent a letter to Burhanpur's fort commander Dwarka Das that Khurram should be secretly released from prison. Khurram was already very satisfied with Madhosinghji's good behavior. This tactful courage of Raoratan tied him in the bond of gratitude even more. Khurram removed Madhosinghji from his side on the pretext of illness and with the help of Dwarka Das, he secretly escaped from the fort. Before secretly leaving the prison, he took the Quran in his hand and wrote a letter to Raoratan by taking God as witness that “Madhosinghji has kept me very respectfully in the prison and has considered me

[151] E. & D., Volume 6, Pages 412-415.
[152] Vanshbhasker, third volume , page 2510-12. Appendix 19

as his master.Iwill honour him by giving him a special kingdom."[153,154,155,156]

Critical situation - At this time, the condition of the empire was in a state of disarray. The rebellious prince Rao Ratan had been tactfully released from prison and was waiting for a favorable opportunity. On the other hand, Mahabat Khan, with the help of his Rajput soldiers, had subjugated Jahangir for some time. Although he was freed by the power of Noor Jahan's strategy, there was a panic in the royal court, the army and among the people, and the people were apprehensive of a grave change every moment.

Coronation of Khurram and prestige of Madhosinghji - This situation did not last for long. Jahangir returned and fell ill while returning from Kashmir and died on the way a few miles north of Lahore. Then what happened? Khurram immediately left for the north and with the help of his powerful father-in-law Asaf Jah, he sat on the royal throne. What could have been a more favorable opportunity for Rao Ratan? He immediately appeared in the court and reminded the emperor of Madhosinghji's services. After Hriday Narayan's escape, Rao Ratan had appointed Madhosinghji as the ruler of Kota on Jahangir's orders. Now he got it confirmed from Shahjajan[157] Seeing Shahjaha's affection for Madhosinghji, Rao Ratan gave him eight more parganas and made Madhosinghji an independent king. These eight parganas were: Khajuri, Arandkheda, Kaithoon, Awan, Kanwas, Madhukargarh, Digod, and Rahal.[158] Madhosinghji became the king of Kota with all the royal equipment like fan, umbrella, elephant, horse, clothes, jewelry etc. and his mother also started living with him. It seems that Hridaynarayan's kingdom would be only over Kota pargana. Pleased with

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153 Author 's View Appendix 20

154 A - Iqbalnama, page 238-252, B - E. & D., Volume 6, page 416-419., C - Beni Prasad - History of Jahangir, page 363-395.

155 *Vanshbhaskar*, Part 3, pages 2523-26. Appendix 20

156 Author 's View Appendix 20

157 Vanshabhaskara, Part III Page 2509 and 2540-41-43 Appendix 21

158 *Vansbhaskar*, Third Volume, page 2543 Appendix 21

Madhosinghji's special bravery and loyalty, Shahjahan must have separated the above eight parganas from Bundi state and given them to Madhosinghji independently.

Death of Rao Ratan - In Samvat 1688 (1631CE) Rao Ratan died. At that time Rao Ratan Sarkar was assigned to protect Balaghat and Madhosinghji was with him. Sometime before this, Queen Mumtaz Mahal had died, and Shahjahan was trying to calm the pain of this separation by camping on the banks of the Tapti River in the south. When Shahjahan was sailing on the Tapti River in a boat, he received a letter from Madhosinghji informing him that Rao Ratan had passed away.[159]

Kota was separated from Bundi – It is presumed that Jahangir had accepted Madhosinghji as the king of Kota only after the victory of Burhanpur. Jahangir was very happy on hearing the news of Khurram's final defeat and conferred the title of 'Ramraj' on Rao Ratan and increased his mansab to the rank of Panjhazari mansabdar and appointed him an officer of one thousand horsemen. While getting Madhosinghji's mansab, Rao Ratan must have either obtained the Farman of Kota state for Madhosinghji or at least obtained the permission of the emperor. He knew that Khurram was not only Jahangir's eldest son but also had the support of Asaf Jah and was himself capable, experienced, and powerful. Therefore, he would become the king after Jahangir. Rao Ratan had the apprehension that remembering the battle of Burhanpur, Khurram might snatch back the kingdom of Kota from Madhosinghji after ascending the throne. Therefore, he had treated Khurram with respect and love in captivity and had made him promise that Madhosinghji would be honored by giving him special land. When Shahjahan heard the news of Rao Ratan's death, he legally accepted Madhosinghji as the separate king of Kota and issued a decree in this regard.[160]

Although Kota was almost separate from the middle of the thirteenth century i.e. from the time of Jeet Singh, the rulers of Kota were serving the kings of Bundi and were not

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159 A. Badshahnama, p. 401, B. Munshi Moolchand, pp. 79-80.

160 *Badshahnama*, Page 401.Appendix 21

completely independent. Rao Surjan had handed over Kota to his son Bhoj after winning it from the Muslims.[161] It is possible that by giving the decree of Kota state to Bhoj, Akbar had fulfilled the point that Kota was given by the emperors. When Bhoj ascended the throne, his son Hridaynarayan became the king of Kota, and he also received the royal decree.[162] But even then Hridaynarayan was subordinate to Rao Ratan in some way. Therefore, when he fled from the battle of Jhusi, Emperor Jahangir rebuked Rao Ratan.[163] Now Madhosinghji's status was not the same as that of Hridaynarayan or the Kota kings before him. Madhosinghji was made the completely independent king of Kota, and his relationship was established directly with the Mughal emperor. Now Kota was not subordinate to Bundi in any way.

Coronation of Madhosinghji – In his lifetime itself, Rao Ratan had made Madhosinghji the king of Kota by giving him eight parganas with all the royal equipment. It is possible that from then onwards he started being called Maharajadhiraj.[164] But the more likely possibility is that despite being completely independent, he would not have assumed the title of Maharajadhiraj. According to the ancient tradition, in the presence of his father and in the year 1632 CE (Samvat 1688), he would have started being called 'Maharajadhiraj' for the first time, and on this occasion his coronation must have taken place.

Increase in Mansab – On this occasion Shahjahan gave Khilaat (honorary dress) to Madhosinghji Ji and increased his Mansab by five hundred and horsemen by five hundred. Thus, he now became a Mansabdar of 2000 and an officer of 2500 horsemen.[165]

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161 Geparnath's inscription Appendix 16.

162 Tod—Rajasthan, Vol. 2, p. 553, footnote

163 Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 2495-96

164 The copper plate of Vinod (Palaytha) is not historically reliable. See appendix number 21 .

165 (a) Munshi Moolchand page 80.
(b) Badshah Nama page 401.

Initial boundary of Kota state - At the time of Madhosinghji's coronation, his state was small. Its boundary extended to the Mukandra mountain range and Shergarh in the south. It reached Palaytha and Mangrol in the east. It extended up to Barod in the north and in the west, on the left bank of the Chambal River, there were only five villages like Nanta.



Rao Madhosinghji
(Vikram Samvat 1681 - 1705)

9
Rao Madhosinghji



Bada Mahal - Garh Palace 17th Century

This palace was constructed by Maharao Bhimsinghji I in the early part of the 18th century. Maharao Bhimsinghji I ruled over Kota from 1707 to 1720 CE. He was the first ruler of Kota State to receive the title of "Maharao" from the Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar.



Nakkar Khana Gate

Located in the Kota Fort, the "Nakkar Khana Gate" was built in the 17th century by Rao Madhosinghji

Rao Mashosinghji

(Samvat 1681 - 1705)



Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service

Khanjahan Lodi's rebellion - Even before formally ascending the throne of Kota, Madhosinghji had already demonstrated his bravery and loyalty to Shahjahan . He got this opportunity due to the unrest caused by Khan Jahan Lodi. Khanjahan Lodi's real name was Peer Khan Lodi, and he was the son of an officer of Akbar named Daulat-khan Lodi. During Jahangir's time, he became a Panjhajari Mansabdar (commander of 5,000) due to his ability and valor, and he was decorated with the title of "Khan Jahan." After Khurram's rebellion, Jahangir sent him to establish peace in the south. When the empire's stability was shaken by Khurram's revolt and Mahabat Khan's unrest, Khan Jahan Lodi saw this as a favorable opportunity for his own rise and became a rebel. Upon ascending the throne,Shahjahan initially pardoned him. He appeared at the court, but after seven or eight months, he once again fled from Delhi and started a rebellion.[166]

Madhosinghji in the royal army - To suppress him, the emperor sent both Hindu and Muslim soldiers, among whom Rao Madhosinghji was included. Near Dholpur, the royal army managed to corner Khan Jahan Lodi, but he crossed the Chambal River and fled south. After passing through Gondwana, he eventually reached the south and allied himself with Nizam-ul-Mulk.

Madhosinghji was the leader of the front part of the army - The royal army continued to pursue him. Madhosinghji was the commander of the part of the royal army that moved ahead, while the Muslim generals with other segments followed at a distance. Khan Jahan Lodi encountered the royal army multiple times and was defeated in several skirmishes,

[166] Badshah Nama (E. & D. Volume 6, Page 7-8)

yet his courage remained unshaken. He turned north again after initially heading south. Near Ujjain, he looted and plundered, and after being suppressed by the royal army, he reached Bundelkhand. Madhosinghji, with a small force, relentlessly pursued him throughout.

Spear attack- Khan Jahan Lodi fled to Kalinjar, but even there, the fort commander severely defeated him. In the end, he became disillusioned with life, and in sorrow over the deaths of many of his companions and sons, he decided to kill or die fighting. Near the Ken River, to the north of Kalinjar, a confrontation occurred close to Talsinghare. Khan Jahan Lodi told his companions that his end was near, and those who wanted to save their lives could leave. Most of them fled, but several brave soldiers chose to remain by his side. Under Madhosinghji's leadership, the vanguard of the royal army advanced and engaged in the battle. Khan Jahan Lodi and his two brave sons, Aziz and Aimal, along with their heroic soldiers, were ready to embrace a warrior's death. Khan Jahan Lodi positioned his two elephants in front and began attacking from behind their cover. Meanwhile, Madhosinghji, in a battle frenzy, began displaying his martial prowess. When Khan Jahan Lodi saw that Madhosinghji was relentlessly pursuing him with bloodlust and was determined to kill him, he dismounted from his horse and, risking his life, engaged in a fierce combat. In this struggle, Madhosinghji advanced and struck him with a spear. What followed was that Madhosinghji's soldiers hacked Khan Jahan Lodi and his two sons into pieces. The heads of the three fathers and sons were severed and presented before the emperor.[167]

Four or seventeen parganas were given and mansab increased - The emperor had given four parganas of Jirapur, Khairabad, Chechat and Khilchipur to Madhosinghji. After killing Khan Jahan Lodi, his mansab was increased by 500.[168]

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[167] (a) *Badshahnama*, Volume 1, Part 2, Pages 348-50; E. & D., Vol. VII, Pages 20-22 Appendix 22
(b) Vanshbhaskar, Part 3, Page 2595

[168] (a) *Vanshbhaskar, Part 3, Page 2594*)
(b) *Vanshbhaskar, Part 3, Page 2595* Appendix 22

That is, he was made a three thousand mansabdar. Thakur Laxmandan has written that in recognition of this bravery, Madhosinghji was given 17 more parganas, whose names are:

(1) Ramgarh, (2) Rahlavan, (3) Kotra, (4) Sultanpur, (5) Barwa, (6) Mangrol, (7) Khairabad, (8) Suket, (9) Chechat, (10) Mandana, (11) Ranpur, (12) Neemoda, (13) Sorsan, (14) Palaitha, (15) Koyla, (16) Aaton and (17) Sorkhand. Out of these, Sultanpur, Ramgarh and Palaitha were already won back by Rao Surjan after killing Kesar Khan and Dokar Khan. It is possible that they got separated from Kota again and the emperor gave permission to conquer again. At the time of Madhosinghji's death, all the above-mentioned parganas were included in his kingdom, and it is not known when he got them. Therefore, it seems very possible that they got them after killing Khanjahan Lodi.

Daughter's marriage - After killing Khanjahan Lodi, Madhosinghji stayed in Delhi for a long time, and then after taking permission from the emperor, came to Kota to get his daughter married. The relationship with Maharaja Jai Singh of Jaipur was fixed. Jai Singh came to Kota with a wedding procession, and the marriage took place with great pomp.[169]

Madhosinghji in Bundelkhand - In Samvat 1692 (1635 CE), when Shahjahan sent an army against Jujhar Singh, son of Bir Singh Bundela, Madhosinghji also went with him. Jujhar Singh was a very rich and powerful king. Once before he had also disobeyed Shahjahan's orders. The royal army had suppressed him and made him apologize, and he had to pay a lot of money as punishment. Along with the royal army, he had to send his Rajput army to fight in the south.[170] But Jujhar Singh was not a man to sit quietly. After a few days, he attacked the Gond capital Chaurgarh, and after killing the king Premnarayan there, he took over the fort and snatched his property worth ten lakhs. When his son appealed to Shahjahan, then Shahjahan sent an army from three sides to suppress him. Sayyid Khan Jahan left from Badaun with

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169 *Vanshbhaskar, Part 3, Page 2595 – Appendix 22*

170 Sir J. N. Sarkar: *History of Aurangzeb*, Volume 1, Page 17.

10,500 soldiers. Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jung left with 6,000 soldiers from the north, and Khan Dauran marched with the same number of soldiers from the south-west.[171] Aurangzeb was made the chief commander. Sisodia,[172] Rathore, Kachhawa, and Hada Rajputs were also ordered to help the royal army.[173] An order was also issued in the name of Madhosinghji, and he left with 1,500 horsemen, which included not only Rajputs but also Mughals, Pathans and other Muslims.[174] The royal army captured Orchha, the capital of Bundelkhand. Jujhar Singh fled to the fort of Dhamuni. Here, the royal army also attacked him, so he crossed Vindhyachal and Narmada rivers and reached Chaurgarh in Gondwana. The royal army surrounded Dhamuni and took it under its control. The gunpowder store here was set on fire in which 300 Rajputs were killed.[175]

Battle of Madhosinghji and Jujhar Singh - The royal army continued to chase Jujhar Singh and Madhosinghji was appointed in the vanguard. Jujhar Singh fought on the border of Chanda, the capital of the Gonds, and fought very bravely. Jujhar Singh's old mother and wives also fought with extraordinary bravery. Seeing this amazing spectacle of valor, the royal officers were left stunned. Then Madhosinghji stepped forward and himself fought with Jujhar Singh. For a long time, both the brave warriors kept on attacking each other with their weapons. Finally, Jujhar Singh left the battlefield and ran away. In this war, his mother had also gotten injured and died,[176] and he, exhausted by the constant running around and the fatigue of war, fell into the hands of the Gonds who beheaded him and his eldest son Vikramaditya

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171 Sir J. N. Sarkar - *History of Aurangzeb*, Page 19

172 Abdul Hamid - *Badshah Nama*, Volume 1, Part 2, Pages 99-100

173 Abdul Hamid - *Badshah Nama*, Volume 1, Part 2, Pages 96, 97, 99, 100.

174 (a) Munshi Moolchand, Pages 81-82.
(b) Abdul Hamid - *Badshah Nama*, Volume 1, Part 2, Pages 96, 97, 99, 100.

175 Above-mentioned (b), Pages 108-110.

176 (1) *Badshahnama*, Volume 1, Part 2, Page 113 Appendix 23
(2) *Badshahnama*, Volume 1, Part 2, Page 115 Appendix 23

and presented them to the royal officers. The king kept these heads hanging on the door of his tent for many days.[177]

Return of Madhosinghji and his attendance again - After the victory of Bundelkhand, Madhosinghji returned to Kota and stayed in his capital for about two years. In Samvat 1694 (1637 CE), again an order came in his name, and along with his younger brother Hari Singh, who was the king of Guger at this time, he left with the army to meet the emperor. At this time Shahjahan was hunting lions in the Sahaswan district, Sauron. Madhosinghji and Hari Singh reached there. Both the brothers presented one elephant each to the emperor. Madhosinghji remained in the emperor's service for six months and then returned to Kota.

Two failed sieges of Kandhar - Kandhar was an important place for the Mughal Empire from the military and trade point of view. On the other hand, it was equally important for the state of Iran. Therefore, there used to be a constant struggle between the two states for its possession. During the reign of Jahangir, in 1623 CE, the Iranian army snatched it from the Mughal emperor's fort commander Abdul Aziz Khan. 15 years later, the Iranian emperor's fort commander Ali Mardan Khan handed over this fort to the Mughal government out of selfishness and himself became a big ruler of the Mughal empire.[178] The Iranian emperor Shah Abbas sent his army to Kandhar to re-establish his authority, and after a long battle, the Iranians again captured it.Shahjahan received this news in September 1638 CE. Then, he sent two armies from Lahore under the leadership of Sadullah Khan and from Multan under the leadership of Aurangzeb. These two armies met at a place called Bhera.[179] On May 16, 1639 CE, a siege was laid on Kandahar, but Aurangzeb was defeated, and the siege was lifted on September 5. This caused Aurangzeb great embarrassment. In

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177 Abdul Hamid: *Badshahnama*, Volume 1, Part 2, Pages 116-117.
178 Sir J. N. Sarkar - *History of Aurangzeb*, Volume 1, Page 131.
179 The above-mentioned, Pages 133-142

1641 CE, under Aurangzeb's leadership, a second siege was laid, but it also ended in failure.[180]

Third siege - Aurangzeb's failure made his rival Dara Shikoh very happy, and Shahjahan was very angry with Aurangzeb. In November 1643 CE, preparations were made for the third siege. A huge army left under the leadership of Dara Shikoh. This army attacked the fort four times but was unsuccessful. After seven months of continuous war, Dara Shikoh returned disappointed, tired and ashamed.[181]

Madhosinghji in Kandhar - While preparations were being made for the first siege, Madhosinghji had received orders to join the royal army with his army. Along with the royal decree, a drum, a flag, a horse decorated with silver jewelry, and a robe of honour were sent to Madhosinghji. On receiving the order, Madhosinghji left with 1,500 horsemen and reached Delhi, and from there he reached Kabul with the royal army in 1047 Hijri, Samvat 1694 (1637 CE).[182] From there he proceeded and joined the siege of Kandhar.

Madhosinghji's work - When the siege of Kandhar started assuming a terrible form, Shahjahan himself reached Lahore and started operating the siege from there. Madhosinghji fought continuously for 6 months and on 3 Shawwal 1048 Hijri, Samvat 1695, (1638 CE), he went to Lahore. He stayed with the emperor for ten days,[183] and after taking necessary orders regarding the siege, he went to Kandhar. Then he continued fighting in Kandhar for one year. On 25th Shawwal 1049 Hijri (Samvat 1696, 1640 CE), he again went to the emperor in Lahore to get necessary orders

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180 The above-mentioned, Pages 143-158.

181 Ishwari Prasad - *A History of Muslim Rule in India*, Pages 577-579

182 Madhosingh, son of Raoratan, awarded the title and gifts including the Khil'at and a nakkara (a ceremonial musical instrument) as a token of departure.
Abdul Hamid Lahori - *Badshahnama*, Volume 2, Page 37.

183 1- Abdul Hamid - *Badshahnama*, Volume 2, Page 181. Appendix 23
2 -Abdul Hamid - *Badshahnama*, Volume 2, Page 217. Appendix 23
Abdul Hamid - Volume 2, Pages 222-224.

regarding the conduct of the siege. After talking, he again reached Kandhar. He again remained a part of the siege for one year and fought in the siege of Kandhar for almost 2 years (from 17th Rabiul Awwal 1048 Hijri to 29th Shawwal 1050 Hijri). During this period, he also went to the emperor twice for advice. This shows that Shahjahan not only trusted Madhosinghji, but also considered him an expert in conducting sieges.

Increase in respect for Madhosinghji – In 1641 CE, when he went to Lahore to meet the emperor for the third time, he stayed there for a month. In recognition of the bravery, loyalty and expertise he had shown in the siege of Kandhar, his mansab was increased by 500 mansab jati and 500 horsemen.[184] On 17 Shawwal 1,051 Hijri, he again went to Lahore. This time, the nature of the siege of Kandhar was satisfactory from the point of view of the Mughal emperor, and it seems that some credit for this goes to Madhosinghji as well. Because this time again his mansab was increased by 500 horsemen.[185]

Madhosinghji in the invasion of Kangra - At this time a very large army was sent to invade Kangra under the leadership of Shahzada (Prince)Murad. It is believed that Madhosinghji was also appointed in this invasion along with Murad Baksh. After the invasion was over, Madhosinghji's mansab was increased by 500 horsemen.[186]

Invasion of Balkh and Badakhshan - This region is situated between the Hindukush range and the Oxus river to the north of Kabul. The eastern part is called Badakhshan, which consists mostly of hills and valleys. It has a nominal population and little cultivation. The western part is called Balkh, which is fertile and flat. In 1642 CE, Nazar Muhammad ascended the throne of this country. He did not prove to be a capable ruler and discontent grew among the people. Revolt

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[184] Guzarish Khujista Jashn Samshi Vajran (Request glorious celebration, bright lightning.)Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Page 224. Appendix 23

[185] Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Page 308. Appendix 23

[186] Munshi Moolchand, Page 86.

broke out in many parts of the country, and the army too rebelled and declared Abdul Aziz, son of Nazar Muhammad, as the king. Shahjahan considered this region as a part of his ancestral kingdom. Babur had his kingdom here and the road to Timur's capital Samarkand passed through this country. Therefore,Shahjahan was very eager to conquer Balkh and Badakhshan and annex them to his kingdom.[187] In June 1645 CE, preparations were made to attack Balkh and Badakhshan. In October 1645 CE, Raja Jagat Singh marched from Kabul with a very large Rajput army and after conquering the district of Khost, built a fort there and returned after appointing some Rajput soldiers to protect it.[188]

Farman (Order) in the name of Madhosinghji - In June 1646 CE, heavy preparations for the attack began. An army of 50,000 was equipped under the leadership of Prince Murad Baksh. Orders were issued to Rajput kings to march with the royal army. At this time Madhosinghji was in Lahore. It is believed that Madhosinghji must have gone to Lahore after the successful completion of the Kangra attack. This is the reason why the decree issued in his name said, “Madhosinghji Hada should proceed from Lahore to Balkh.”[189]

Madhosinghji in the vanguard – The imperial army was organized after crossing Kabul. The invasion of Balkh and Badakhshan was a monumental effort, and the Indian soldiers had no prior experience of the unfamiliar terrain they were about to enter. Therefore, the vanguard of the army, or the front portion, required exceptionally brave leaders and formidable soldiers. It was often customary in the Mughal army to assign Rajputs to the most dangerous positions, those where heavy casualties were expected. If the Rajputs were killed in large numbers, the Muslim emperors did not consider it their personal loss; however, if they were victorious, the Rajputs were typically rewarded with simple honors. On this occasion, Rajputs were again placed in the vanguard. The

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187 Abdul Hamid, page 2, Page 152.
188 Ibid Pages 462-466.
189 Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Page 423. Appendix 23

front of the army was divided into three sections. Ravraja Shatrusal of Bundi was appointed leader of the first division. Raja Vithaldas commanded the second, while Rathore was appointed alongside Raja Madhosinghji, who became commander of the third division. According to this arrangement, the army of Raoraja Shatrusal led the march, followed by the forces of Vithaldas, with Madhosinghji's regiment bringing up the.[190] The royal army followed behind with these brave Rajputs leading the way.

Attack on the forts of Kamaru and Kandaj - On the Ashadh Shukla Chaturthi, this huge army crossed the border of Shahjahan's kingdom and reached the country of Balkh and Badakhshan. The vanguard easily captured the fort of Kamaru. This victory was achieved only because of the bravery of the Rajputs.[191] After this, the fort of Kandaj was attacked on 22 June, which was situated on the north-eastern border of Balkh. Here, Madhosinghji fought with great bravery like other Rajputs. The royal army captured the fort, but before fleeing, the residents of that place set the city and the Jumma Masjid on fire.[192]

Occupation of Balkh – 2 July 1646 CE (Shravan Shukla 10, Samvat 1703): On this day, the royal army entered Balkh. Nazar Muhammad fortified the citadel and resisted for some time, but in the end, he fled. His son, daughter-in-law, and daughters were captured by the royal army and sent to Kabul. The royal forces took control of the fort. The royal *khutbah* (sermon) was recited in the mosque. After gaining control over the city of Balkh and later the entire region, peace was established. A large portion of the vast wealth that Nazar Muhammad had accumulated in the fort of Balkh fell into the hands of Murad Bakhsh. After this victory, Murad Bakhsh became eager to return to Hindustan (India). Many soldiers of the royal army shared the prince’s growing impatience to return to Hindustan. This restlessness among

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190 Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Pages 484-485.Appendix 23
191 Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Pages 483-488.
192 Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Pages 483-488.

Murad Bakhsh and his officers gradually led to a breakdown of discipline and growing disorder within the ranks.*

Madhosinghji maintained an unwavering stance in Balkh - At last, the prince decided to return without the permission of the emperor.Shahjahan immediately sent the minister Sadullah Khan to Balkh, who returned on 6 September after making arrangements for the administration of the army and the country. Madhosinghji , like other military officers, did not return to his country and continued to protect the fort of Balkh.[193] After the return of the prince, riots and rebellions started in Balkh. Therefore,Shahjahan moved Aurangzeb from Gujarat to Lahore, and sent him to Balkh Badakhshan with Ali Mardan after giving him 50 lakh rupees. Aurangzeb left on 7th April 1647 CE.

Madhosinghji defeated two emperors. During this period, Madhosinghji had to face many difficulties, but he overcame them with courage and bravery. Nazar Mohammad once attacked Balkh with the help of King Abdul Aziz of Turan, but Madhosinghji defended the fort with such bravery that the combined army of Nazar Mohammad and Abdul Aziz could not enter the fort. Many battles took place in the field outside as well, but Madhosinghji did not let the royal occupation be removed from Balkh and the surrounding region.[194] This situation was even more terrifying than what Madhosinghji had seen during the siege of Burhanpur. Rao Ratan had to face only Khurram's army, but in Balkh, Madhosinghji was surrounded by two powerful chieftains, Nazar Mohammad and Abdul Aziz. Besides, Balkh was an unknown country, and what did Madhosinghji know about the power and warfare methods of the Turanians? Prince Murad and the Mughal emperor's great brave generals had already left in fear. Successfully defending a fort surrounded by powerful enemies in a far away land with the help of only a minority of Rajput soldiers was the

[193] *(Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Pages 557-559)

Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Pages 566-571, 614-618, 620-624, 626, 642-657.

[194] Munshi Moolchand, Page 91

work of a brave man like Madhosinghji. Such bravery and courage was completely expected of the son of Sir Bulandrai and Ramraj Rao Ratan. Was it difficult for such a brave warrior, born warrior and dutiful king to establish a separate state in the seventeenth century?

Aurangzeb reached Balkh - On one hand, Madhosinghji was risking his life to stop the Uzbeks and Turanians from entering the fort, while on the other hand, Aurangzeb was moving towards Balkh in a hurry. On the way, he had to pass through the narrow valley of Dera-e-Gaj. There, the Uzbeks under the leadership of Kutlak Mohammad blocked the way of the royal army, but the vanguard of the brave Rajputs defeated them and drove them away, and the army moved forward. Thus, defeating the enemies on the way, Aurangzeb reached Balkh on Samvat 1704 (25 May 1647 CE, 1st Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1067 Hijri). Seeing the royal army, Madhosinghji breathed a sigh of relief. Aurangzeb was also stunned to see the dire situation of Balkh and the unmatched bravery of Madhosinghji.[195]

The Honor of Madhosinghji - On the return of Murad,Shahjahan praised the bravery of Madhosinghji a lot. Along with Aurang-Zeb, he sent a horse decorated with silver ornaments for Madhosinghji,[196] whose name was “Baad Raftar” (Wind Velocity). On reaching Balkh, Aurangzeb honored Madhosinghji by giving him this horse and entrusted the fort of Balkh to him. Leaving the royal treasury, rations and many war materials in the fort under the protection of Madhosinghji, Aurangzeb proceeded towards Akya Nagar to suppress the Uzbeks.[197] The Uzbeks retreated after being defeated. The royal army moved forward. They reached Timurabad on 2 June. Many battles took place here. The enemies destroyed a part of the royal army, but in the end they were defeated. Moving away from there, the Uzbeks set up camps in the region between Balkh and the royal army, due

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[195] Abdul Hamid, Pages 680-685
[196] Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Page 641 .Appendix 23
[197] Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Page 687 Appendix 23

to which the supply of rations etc. to the army from the fort of Balkh stopped.[198] At this time, if there were no brave defenders of the fort like Madhosinghji, then the royal treasury and rations etc. would have been looted.

Return from Balkh - Aurangzeb reached Balkh on 5 June. There was a fierce battle with the enemies. Both sides fought equally. Neither anyone won nor lost. On 7 June, a fierce battle took place again. The new king of Balkh Badakhshans Abdul Aziz and many other Uzbak chieftains were involved in it. Fortunately, Aurangzeb's army was not destroyed. Now Aurangzeb also started realizing that the problem was difficult. The Uzbak people wanted to make a treaty, but at the same time they kept procrastinating. The royal army commanders were eager to return. At last, Aurangzeb made a treaty. The royal authority was removed from Balkh Badakhshan. On Aurangzeb's order, Madhosinghji vacated the fort of Balkh. The royal army marched and reached Kabul on 10 November 1647 CE (Samvat 1704). On the way, enemies attacked the royal army at many places and Aurangzeb had to face severe difficulties, but Raja Jai Singh defeated the attackers everywhere and protected the royal army.[199] Madhosinghji must have returned to Kota in Samvat 1705 (January 1648 CE).

Death of Madhosinghji - In 1648 CE or Samvat 1705, when Madhosinghji returned to Kota from the war of Balkh and Badakhshan, he was only 48 years old. But he used to remain in the battlefield almost continuously since the age of 14 and the foreign and mountainous climate during the attack of Balkh Badakhshan had had taken a severe toll on his health. Therefore, on returning to Kota, he remained in the battlefield for a long time. He could not survive. It is assumed that he died in 1648 CE. Colonel Todd has given the year of birth of Madhosinghji as Samvat 1621 and the year of death as Samvat 1684, which are obviously incorrect. There is no need to

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198 Sir J.N. Sarkar – *History of Aurangzeb*, Volume 1, Pages 103-104

199 Sir J.N. Sarkar – *History of Aurangzeb*, Volume 1, Pages 109-110.

consider them.[200]It is written in *Vanshbhaskar* that Madhosinghji returned from the battle of Kabul in Samvat 1707 and fell ill after reaching Delhi and died on coming to Kota from there.[201] According to this statement, the year of death of Madhosinghji is definitely Samvat 1707, but this does not seem to be correct. The royal army returned from Balkh and Badakhshan not in Samvat 1707, but in the month of Paush in Samvat 1704 (November 1647 CE) which is proved by the statement of the contemporary royal historian.[202] After this, he died due to illness, hence Samvat 1705 seems correct. The author of *Vanshbhaskar* had no knowledge of the attack on Balkh and Badakhshan. He calls it the battle of Kabul.[203] Still, there is a difference of only three years in the Samvat he has given. Munshi Moolchand knew the exact date of the return of the royal army, yet he has written the death period of Madhosinghji as 1707 Vikram on the basis of Charitra Ratnavali.[204]

Expansion of the Kingdom - At the time of his accession to the throne, Madhosinghji had 14 parganas.[205] Shahjahn gave him 17 more parganas in celebration of killing Khan Jahan Lodi.[206] Pleased with the matchless bravery with which Madhosinghji had defended the fort of Balkh during the invasion of Balkh and Badakhshan,Shahjahan snatched the parganas of Baran and Mau from the King of Bundi and gave

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200 Todd – *Rajasthan*, Volume 2, Pages 552-553.1707.

201 *Vanshbhaskar*, Third Volume, Pages 2630-32. Appendix 23

202 Muhammad Waris: Badshahnama

203 Vanshbhaskar, Third Volume, Page 2625.

204 Munshi Mulchand, Page 96.

205 Khajuri, Arandkheda, Kaithun, Awan, Kanwas, Ghatoli, Digod, Barod, Itawa, Luhawad, Bamori, Anta, Barwa, Sangod.Thakur Lakshmandan Surajmal only lists the names of nine parganas.- *Vanshbhaskar*, Third Volume, Pages 2541-43.
Gangasahay lists only 7 names.*Vansh Prakash* – 132.

206 Ramgarh, Rahlawan, Kotda, Sultanpur, Barwa, Mangraul, Khairabad, Suket, Chechat, Mandana, Ranpur, Nimoda, Soresan, Palaytha, Koyla, Aton, and Sorakhand. Thakur Lakshmandan.
Surajmal has written the names of only 5 parganas.
Vanshbhaskar, Third Volume, Page 2593

them to Madhosinghji.[207] Thus, at the time of Madhosinghji's death, Baran and Mau were included in his kingdom. Kota, Sultanpur, Etawah, Lahavad, Mangrol, Ramgarh, Baraun, Aaton, Shergarh, Ghatoli, Gagron, Khairabad, Chechat, Mandana, and Nanta were the main parganas of his kingdom.[208] There were about 500 villages in eight parganas i.e. Urmal, Karwar, Raipur, Soit, Ghati, Madhukargarh, Gagron and Kota in Samvat 1711.[209] From this it can be estimated that there would have been about 2000 villages in Madhosinghji's kingdom at the time of his death. The most fertile and settled part of the present Kota state is the one acquired by Madhosinghji.

Madhosinghji's Mansab - Madhosinghji was a Mansabdar when he joined his father in the battle of Burhanpur, but the number of his Mansab is not known. At that time, Rao Ratan's Mansab was also less than 4000 because after Khurram's arrest, he became a Panjhazari Mansabdar. It is estimated that Rao Ratan would have been a three-thousand Mansabdar at that time. Hence, Madhosinghji's Mansab would have been about 1000 at that time. When Rao Ratan, along with his sons, valiantly defended Burhanpur and captured Khurram and in that battle Madhosinghji was severely wounded, Jahangir made Raoratan a Panjhazari Mansabdar and increased Madhosinghji's Mansab to 2000 Mansabdars and appointed him the commander of 1000 horsemen.[210] Then, on the occasion of killing Khan Jahan Lodi, he was given a Mansab of 3000.[211] It is not known what was the increase in horsemen. While making Madhosinghji the king of Kota after the death of Rao Ratan, Shahjahan increased his Mansab by 500 and horsemen by 500.[212] Thus, he became the commander of 3500 Mansabs and at least 1500 horsemen. When Madhosinghji went to meet Shahjahan in 1640 during the siege of Kandhar, his mansab was increased

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207 *Vanshbhaskar*, Third Volume, Page 2630 Appendix 23
208 Kota takseem samvat 1711. Appendix 23
209 Kota takseem samvat 1711
210 Munshi Moolchand, Page 76.
211 *Vanshbhaskar*, Volume 3, Page 2593
212 Munshi Moolchand, Page 80.

by 500 and horsemen by 500.[213] One year later, when he went from Kandhar to Lahore, his mansab was again increased by 500.[214] Thus, in Samvat 1698 (1641 CE), Madhosinghji became a mansabdar of 4500 and the ruler of 2000 horsemen. Madhosinghji was probably also involved in the attack led by Shahzada Murad on Raja Jagat Singh of Kangra. After the success of this attack, 500 more horsemen were increased to Madhosinghji's strength.[215] According to this calculation, Madhosinghji was a Mansabdar of 4500 and the commander of 2500 horsemen at the time of Kangra Vijay i.e. Samvat 1699 (1642 CE).[216] His second son Mohan Singhji and younger son Kishoresinghji were also with him in the war of Balkh and Badakhshan. Mohan Singhji was a Mansabdar of 8 centuries and an officer of 400 horsemen. Kishoresinghji was a Mansabdar of 400 and an officer of 200 horsemen.[217]

Income from Mansab - There were three categories of Mansabdars. The first class Mansabdar was the one whose Mansab caste and the number of horsemen were equal, i.e. the one who was a Hazari Mansabdar and an officer of 1000 horsemen. The number of horsemen of a second class Mansabdar was half of the Mansab caste and the third class Mansabdar was considered to be the one whose horsemen were approximately one-tenth of the Mansab. According to this system, Madhosinghji was a second class Panjhazari Mansabdar because his Mansab caste was 5000 and horsemen were 2500. The Panjhazari Mansabdar had to keep 340 horses, 100 elephants and 260 ponies, mules, carts etc. for logistics, for the emperor's service, etc., and he was given about Rs. 29,000 per month from the royal treasury for expenses. Thus, Madhosinghji's annual income from the second class Mansab was about three and a half lakhs.

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213 Abdulhamid, Volume 2, Pages 222-224.

214 Above, Page 308.

215 Munshi Moolchand, Page 86.

216 However, Abdulhamid has mentioned him as a 3,000 strong cavalry leader with the rank of a three-thousand mansabdar. Abdulhamid, Volume 2, Page 722.

217 Munshi Moolchand, Page 96.

The Glory of Rao Madho singh ji – In the Mughal court, Madhosinghji was a Mansabdar of Panjhazari and an officer of two thousand five hundred horsemen, which was not an ordinary thing at that time. A Mansab of more than five thousand was usually given to a few nobles in the entire empire, who had relations with the royal family. For a Hindu noble, being made a Mansabdar of Panjhazari was considered a great honour and pride. Madhosinghji himself had achieved this honour by his own strength and policy. He had proved the saying 'Honhaar Birwaan Ke Hot Cheekne Pat' (a talented person shows his potential early) by showing bravery at the age of fourteen. Fighting with Prince Khurram with a minority army on behalf of his father and defeating and imprisoning him was not ordinary bravery. By treating Khurram with respect and humility in captivity, Madhosinghji had made the path of his progress smooth even in the future reign. Shahjahan had not even been able to sit on the throne, the major crisis for the entire kingdom was eliminated via the the killing of Khanjahan Lodi. Even during the invasion of Bundelkhand, when the royal generals were staring at each other, it was Madhosinghji who had the courage to fight the battle-crazy Jujhar Singh. Madhosinghji was with the royal army for almost two years during the siege of Kandhar. He used to come to Lahore from Kandhar and consult the emperor about the siege, and during this period his mansab was increased by one thousand. This proves that Madhosinghji had rendered remarkable service to Shahjahan during the siege of Kandhar. Even after the victory of Kangra, Madhosinghji's mansab was increased, which is a proof of his bravery.

In the invasion of Balkh and Badakhshan, he achieved feats of courage and bravery that were truly remarkable. When Prince Murad and the royal general fled from that region, Madhosinghji alone, with the help of Rajput soldiers, protected the fort of Balkh, surrounded by powerful enemies, and protected Emperor's pride and upheld the Shahjahan's glory during a time of great peril. While marching from Kabul to Badakhshan, he was in the vanguard of the royal army. This was the reason why Shahjahan rewarded him by gifting him a horse decorated with jewels, Madhosinghji’s devotion to

the Mughal empire was recognized and celebrated even by non-Hindus. In this way, due to serving first Jahangir and then Shahjahan , risking his life, Madhosinghji became the king of 43 parganas. He received the Naqqara and Nishan from the emperor in addition to the Panjhazari mansab, and received the title of Raja. During his lifetime, he never experienced the displeasure of the emperor. That is why his kingdom kept expanding. Just as he had prestige in the Mughal court, other Kshatriya kings also respected him.

Sons of Madhosinghji - Madhosinghji had five sons: Mukund Singh, Mohan Singh, Jujhar Singh, Kanhinram, and Kishoree

Singh. During the campaign in Balkh and Badakhshan, Madhosinghji entrusted the administration of his kingdom to Mukund Singhji. Considering the long journey, the difficult path, and the formidable enemies, Madhosinghji must have wondered whether he would be able to return alive. Therefore, he properly entrusted the responsibility of governance to Mukund Singhji, and Mukundsinghji assumed the title of Maharajadhiraja by his father's command.[218] Mohan Singh and Kishoree Singh accompanied their father to Balkh and Badakhshan, where both held mansabs of 800 and 400 respectively. It seems that they may have been involved in other battles alongside Prince Madhosinghji. Prior to the Balkh and Badakhshan campaign, Madhosinghji likely had granted his sons the jagirs they deserved. As the eldest son, Mukundsinghji was made the king of Kota. Mohan Singh, known for his valor and being the beloved son of Madhosinghji, often accompanied his father in battles, so he was given the jagir of Palayetha, which included 84 villages. The third son, Jujhar Singhji, received the land of Kotda with 21 villages, while Kanhinramji was given the Koyala jagir, which consisted of 27 villages. The fifth son, Kishoresinghji, was granted the jagir of Sangod along with 24 villages.[219]

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[218] Kagzaat Samvat 1704, Seega Mutafarrikat.

[219] Thakur Lakshmandan.

Character of Madhosinghji - Madhosinghji was an obedient son, a wise king and a loving father. In his childhood, he had studied some Sanskrit and some Urdu. In those days people were more religious than today, but being a Sanskrit scholar, Madhosinghji was especially religious. At the age of 14, he went with his father to suppress the rebellion of Malik Ambar. From then till the end, in whichever war he participated, he was always the vanguard and fought with all his might. He defeated Khurram, attacked Jujhar Singh, killed Khan Jahan Lodi with a spear and defended the fort of Balkh bravely. In short, he performed the most heroic act in every battle of Shahjahan's rule. He was so skilled in politics that he first defeated Khurram and imprisoned him, and then gained pride and honour from him. During the siege of Kandhar, Shahjahan had called him to Lahore several times for consultation, which shows his political wisdom and military expertise. Madhosinghji's loyalty was so strong and unwavering that he did not hesitate to attack Jujhar Singh, and being bound by the bond of duty, he saw with his own eyes the destruction of a Rajput brother's family and the grave insult to religion. Rao Ratan loved him a lot due to his bravery, and being an obedient son, he deserved this love.

Rao Ratan's love for Madhosinghji must have increased because he was very sad due to Gopinath's misdeed. Love for his father was also a reason for Madhosinghji's rise. He was not only devoted to his father but also devoted to his mother. After becoming the king, when he started living in his capital Kota, his mother, who was the daughter of the Thakur of Arandkheda, came to Kota with him and stayed there all her life. She died in the Samvat 1727 in Kota city during the rule of Maharajadhiraj Jagat Singh.[220] In short, Madhosinghji was a successful man everywhere - in the battle, in the family and in the court. He died at the age of about 48 years, but his short life was very successful and meaningful.

Muhūrtam jvalanaṁ śreyaḥ, na ca dhūmāyitaṁ ciram. ("It is better to blaze brightly for a moment than to smolder for a long time.")

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[220] Vanshabhaskar, Third Part, Page 2543

Madhosinghji's rule - There were a total of 43 parganas during Madhosinghji's rule. Some of these parganas belonged to Sarkar Garh Ranthambore province Ajmer and the rest were under Sarkar Garh Gagron province Ujjain. The emperor was given Mamlat (Administrative work and revenue) for each pargana, which was deposited in the royal treasury in the capital of the respective province i.e. Ajmer or Ujjain. In each pargana, there were three officers, Chaudhary, qanungo, and a Thakur. Chaudhary and qanungo were appointed by the emperor, and were usually hereditary. These people kept accounts of the land area and rent, and took measures to improve agriculture. Increasing the population was considered their duty. They were strictly instructed to treat the subjects equally and not to oppress anyone. If any jagirdar did not follow their instructions, they used to send written applications to the emperor. These people also sent annual accounts of income and expenditure to the royal office. The 'Hakim', 'Alim', 'Jagirdaran Hal' and those who were to be appointed were expected to accept the right advice and service of the Chaudhari and qanungo with respect. Patels, subjects, farmers and others were also given similar instructions.[221] The qanungo and Chaudhari did not receive salaries. A percentage of the land tax collected by them was given to them in the name of Rasoom. Thus these people were officers appointed by the emperor, but when a particular pargana was given to a king, then these people obeyed his orders; and they had to obey both the emperor and the king. No king had the right to appoint Chaudhari and qanungo. The reason was that the real owner of the parganas was considered to be the emperor, and the king was considered to be the jagirdar. Therefore, the emperor could snatch any pargana whenever he wanted and annex it either to the empire or to the jagir of another state. Therefore, it was necessary to keep the account of the income of every pargana in the royal office, and for this purpose these people were

[221] The Jahangiri Farman (royal decree of Jahangir), from the 12th year of Jahangir's reign, is in the possession of Lala Bhanwarlal Kayastha qanungo

appointed by the emperor. Thakur was a full-fledged servant of the king, who ruled the pargana and was responsible for maintaining peace.

Army - Madhosinghji was a Panjhazari Mansabdar and was the officer of 2500 horsemen. Apart from this, he had a separate army to protect his country. The management of each part of the army was entrusted to an officer. Feelkhana(Elephant stable), shuturkhana (Camel Corps), Ost-house etc. were parts of the army. The amount of expenditure on the army can be estimated from the fact that almost every elephant was given two seers of ghee, three sers(approximately 0.9kg) of jaggery and thirty-five seers of flour daily.[222]

Economic - A large part of the state was divided into small jagirs. At that time, there was a constant need for Jagirdars to protect the state and to take them with him to battles. Madhosinghji's state was new and he had to be with the king's army almost all the time, which used to cost more than the income of his mansabdari. Hence, Madhosinghji used to borrow a lot of money from Nandwane Bohras at the rate of 1/ Rs. percent per month. Apart from the heavy interest, he had to mortgage villages to keep the Bohras satisfied. These villages were governed by the state, but whatever income was left after deducting the administrative expenses, was not deposited in the state treasury but was directly deposited with the Bohras. The documents given to the Bohras by the state were written in the same manner as those written by ordinary debtors.[223]

Buildings - During his time, the Bada Mahal, the tank in front of the Rajmahal, the entrance of Boulsari, the gate of Nakkaarkhana (Music Hall), the gate of Sailargaji, the fort of the capital, the city wall i.e. Kaithunipol, Patanpol, and the fort of Kishorepura gate were constructed. At that time, the

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[222] Kagazat Samvat 1692.
[223] Kagazat Samvat 1697, Seega Mutfarrikat.

Kishorepura gate was called Bhilwadi Pol. Madhosinghji also established a small town called Madhukargarh at a distance of twelve kos from the fort, where the mountain range was converted into the city rampart and gates were built. All these buildings, walls and towers are of ordinary Hindu style from the architectural point of view. Despite there being no specialty in them, it is definitely true that there is no mark of Mughal art on them.



Rao Mukundsinghji
(Samvat 1706-1714)

10
Rao Mukundsinghji



Abla Meeni Mahal, Dara, Kota - 17th Century

Located in Dara village of Kota, the "Abla Meeni" Mahal was built by Rao Mukundsinghji, the ruler of Kota State, in the 17th century.



Gagron Fort, Jhalawad 12th Century

Rao Mukundsinghji

(Samvat 1706-1714)

Rao Mukundsinghji - In Samvat 1706 (1649 CE), after the death of Madhosinghji, Mukundsinghji ascended to the throne of Kota.

Before the Coronation – Madhosinghji passed away at the age of around 48. Mukund Singhji, being his eldest son, would have been no more than 30 years old at the time of his coronation. It is not clear whether Mukundsinghji had participated in any battles with his father. During the invasions of Balkh and Badakhshan, his younger brothers Mohansinghji and Kishoresinghji were with Madhosinghji, but there is no mention of Mukundsinghji; however, it can undoubtedly be said that Mukundsinghji was not unacquainted with the art of warfare. Before his coronation, Mukundsinghji must have either participated in several battles with his father or developed his skills in horsemanship and weaponry at home.

Coronation and Honors – After ascending the throne, Mukundsinghji was honored with a Khilat (royal robe) by the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan. He was appointed a mansabdar of 3000 and given command over 2000 cavalry.[224] When Madhosinghji ascended the throne, he was granted only a mansab of 2000 because he was a newly crowned king, and his mansab was limited at the time of his coronation. In the kingdom, there were only 14 parganas**.** When Mukundsinghji ascended the throne, under the valor, courage, and might of Madhosinghji, the Kota state had expanded to include 43 parganas, most of which were fertile and well-populated. The reputation of the Kota kingdom was also well-established. Therefore, Mukundsinghji was granted a mansab of 3000 and

[224] Munshi Moolchand, p. 97.

the command of 2000 cavalry, not due to any specific achievement, but because he was the son of Madhosinghji and ascended the throne of Kota.

Siege of Kandahar (Samvat 1706-1710, 1649-1653 CE) – After Mukundsinghji ascended the throne, Kandhar fell from Shahjahan's control. To reclaim it, the imperial army was dispatched, and in April 1649 CE, the emperor Shahjahan himself marched towards Kabul. The siege of Kandhar lasted for three months and twenty days, but the imperial army failed and retreated. In 1652 CE, another siege was conducted under the leadership of Aurangzeb, but it also ended in failure. In 1653 CE, a third siege was launched with four attacks, but after seven months, the imperial army again had to retreat in disappointment. Hindu rulers who participated in these sieges included Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Raja Vitthal Das, but there is no mention of Mukundsinghji.[225] It is recorded that more than 50 nobles and mansabdars, along with Shahzada Aurangzeb, participated. The historian Inayat Khan, who describes the sieges of Kandhar, was not a direct eyewitness to the events. He largely based his account on Abdul Hamid Lahori's *Badshah Nama* and the testimonies of others. Mukundsinghji was a three-thousand-mansabdar at the time and commanded two thousand cavalry. Therefore, it is unlikely that such a high-ranking mansabdar would not be sent with Aurangzeb or Dara Shikoh, especially when a large army was dispatched under Dara Shikoh, and Shahjahan had complete confidence in the loyalty of Mukundsinghji's family.

State Administration – During his 17-year reign, Madhosinghji spent almost 10 years continuously fighting alongside the imperial army in the Deccan, Bundelkhand, Kandhar, and Balkh-Badakhshan. He occasionally returned to his capital, but he did not have sufficient opportunities to organize the administration. Mukundsinghji, though likely involved in imperial campaigns with his father, also had ample opportunities to reside in the capital. Therefore, he gained

[225] Inayatkhan: Shahjahan-nama, E. & D. Page 88

considerable experience in managing the kingdom's administrative needs. Before leaving for the Balkh and Badakhshan campaigns, Madhosinghji had ceremonially installed Mukundsinghji on the throne, and Mukundsinghji managed the administration for four years. Consequently, after formally ascending the throne, Mukundsinghji reorganized the army, jagirs, revenue, taxation, construction, and other administrative functions, thereby strengthening the kingdom.

Army – Madhosinghji had organized key military departments such as the elephant corps (*feelkhana*), camel corps (*shuturkhana*), and artillery (*topkhana*), but Mukundsinghji further reinforced them. As a three-thousand-mansabdar, it was mandatory for him to maintain 300 cavalry, 90 elephants, and 200 carts, mules, etc.[226] However, for the defense of his state, he had to maintain a much larger army. The contemporary Hindu rulers had also adopted a system akin to the Mughal mansabdari system. Following this practice, Mukundsinghji granted jagirs to many Rajputs for maintaining cavalry. Each jagirdar was required to join the Kota state army with a designated number of horses in times of need. When granting jagirs, agreements were made specifying the number and type of horses they must maintain. Some agreements also stipulated that the jagirdars would have to cross the Attock if required.

Military Expenditure – For a three-thousand mansab and two thousand cavalry, approximately one and a half lakh rupees were annually allocated from the imperial treasury. For military service, Mukundsinghji had granted jagirs worth several lakhs. Thus, a significant portion of the state’s revenue was spent on the army. At that time, it was the king’s duty to protect himself and his kingdom, as well as to serve the emperor militarily. Hence, Hindu rulers were required to maintain a large army both within their territories and for imperial service.

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[226] Ain-e-Akbari, Vol. 1, Page 248 (Blochmann)

Jagirs – Jagirs for military service were primarily granted to Rajputs, most of whom were not Hada Rajputs but rather Solanki, Kachhwaha, Rathore, Chundawat, Sisodia, Tanwar, Pawar, Badgujar, Jhala, and other Rajput clans. In addition to these, Gujar, Meena, Ahir, Bhil, Sahariya, and some Muslims were also granted villages as jagirs.[227]

Jagirs for Military Service – Jagirs were granted specifically for military service. Each jagirdar was obligated, as per the agreed terms, to serve either within the state, outside it, or even beyond the Attock River with a fixed number of cavalry. However, Mukundsinghji and his successors as rulers of Kota were not required to serve beyond the Attock. Madhosinghji, on the other hand, had to stay in Balkh and Badakhshan for almost four years. Thus, Mukundsinghji anticipated that, like his father, he might one day be required to serve beyond the Attock. At that time, crossing the Indian border was considered against religious principles, so jagirdars were bound by agreements to serve beyond the Attock if necessary.[228] Some jagirdars were also required to maintain a fixed number of foot soldiers (pyaade). Occasionally, upon request, a jagirdar was allowed to maintain foot soldiers instead of cavalry.[229]

Jagirs for General Duties – Jagirs were also granted for general duties to officials, Charans (bards), Nat performers, Brahmins, priests, musicians, courtesans, skilled artisans, and bards as compensation for their services.[230] At that time, granting jagirs was considered more convenient than paying in cash. The jagirdar collected taxes directly from the people and was responsible for managing the affairs of the village under their charge. This system was also prevalent in the Mughal Empire, and Hindu rulers had adopted it as well.

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[227] A-Document Samvat 1704, 1705.
B-Taksim Samvat 1711, Pargana Urmal, Karwar, Raipur, Soit etc.

[228] Taksim Samvat 1706-07. Jeth Budi 11, Jagir Indrabhan Nathawat Ashadha Sudi 11, Jagir - Durjansingh Sikarwal.

[229] Taksim Samvat 1706-07, Paush Budi 11, Jagir Naharkhan Bhankrot.

[230] Taksim Samvat 1711, Pargana Raipur, Ghati Madhukargarh and Gagron.

Number of Jagirs – During the time of Mukundsinghji, a significant portion of the state was under the control of jagirdars. In the Pargana of Kota, out of a total of 195 villages, 121 were under jagirdars. In Pargana Urmal, 66 out of 92 villages, in Pargana Raipur, 21 out of 26 villages, in Pargana Soit, 23 out of 32 villages, and in Pargana Gagron, 22 out of 39 villages were granted as jagirs.[231]

Categories of Rajput Jagirdars – Based on their services, jagirdars were divided into two categories: *Jagirdar Desathi* and *Jagirdar Hajurathi*. Official records do not explicitly state the specific duties of each category, but the names clearly indicate their roles, making detailed descriptions unnecessary. *Jagirdar Desathi* usually resided in their respective territories within the state. Their responsibilities included ensuring no uprisings occurred in their areas, preventing looting and robbery, and maintaining peace and order. If an external enemy attacked the kingdom, these jagirdars were expected to resist the invasion, untilarrival of reinforcements .*Jagirdar Hajurathi* accompanied the royal court and were part of the Mughal army. During that era, Rajput rulers were often required to join imperial forces for territorial conquests. These jagirdars not only brought their allotted troops as per their mansab ranks but also accompanied additional brave and trustworthy soldiers. While most military campaigns were conducted within India, during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan's imperial armies were also sent to Kabul, Kandhar, and Badakhshan. Due to the concern that he might need to cross the Attock, Mukundsinghji had specific arrangements with certain feudal lords in his kingdom. These arrangements explicitly included the condition of crossing the Attock. Such conditions were applied only to those feudal lords who were granted estates in return for their service. However, there was no question of such conditions for the four Madhani estates—Palyatha, Kotda, Koyla, and Sangod. These estates were

[231] Taksim Samvat 1711.

granted because their holders were royal princes and had inherited shares in their ancestral kingdom.

Status of the Feudal Lords - The status of the feudal lords depended on the number of horses they maintained. Those who kept fewer horses received smaller estates, while those who maintained more horses received larger ones. The grants given to these lords explicitly mentioned whether the horses were to be Turkish, Tajik, or Arabian. Local administrators in the districts ensured that the feudal lords maintained the required number and quality of horses as per their grants. In some villages under certain estates, both royal and feudal representatives were present. The royal representatives ensured peace and protected the villages from ruin. The share of the feudal lord in the produce of the farmers was determined by royal officials. This was necessary because, without royal supervision, feudal lords would arbitrarily claim an excessive portion of the farmers' earnings as their personal revenue.[232]

Taxes from the Jagirdars - In the villages under feudal estates, the state collected tolls, customs duties (zakat), and other taxes, but it also claimed a portion of the *maal hasil* (revenues) from the estates. Since a significant part of the state was under the control of feudal lords, it would have been impossible to run the administration without levying taxes on them.[233] One such tax collected from feudal lords was called *Masadati*. The exact basis for this tax is unclear, but

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[232] **Pratap Singh Gaur ki jagir ka gaon mein aadmi do aitha jagirdar ka rakhjyo ar aadmi do khalsa ka rakhjyo ar gaon ko japto karvajyo ar lato hov jyo raawala aadmian munda aage kara jyo naaj jagirdar hi leba dijy**o- In the jagir (estate) of Pratapsingh Gaur, assign two men to the jagirdar (landholder) and two men to the khalsa Have the village surveyed, and if it is suitable, establish it as a *lāt* . Let the be placed under the control of the jagirdar’s men.
Ensure that the agricultural produce (nāz) is taken only by the jagirdar- Taliq Samvat 1718.

[233] Mauza Aralia in Pargana Aton was in the jagir of a Muslim chieftain. For him, it was ordered by Hawlar and Chaudhry that whatever was collected for the latai, 10/12 should be given to the jagirdar and 2/12 should be given to the Khalsa

government records suggest that several thousand rupees were collected from each district.[234] It is evident that there was no leniency in collecting this tax. Feudal lords who failed to pay this tax on time were charged 4% monthly interest.[235] The collection of this tax was carried out through a designated official known as the *hawalgeer*. The origin of the term *Masadati* is unknown. However, it is understood that expenses incurred at the district's administrative headquarters (chabutra or court) were referred to as *Masadati* expenses. At that time, police, judiciary, revenue, forestry, and customs were all under the jurisdiction of district officers. Thus, *Masadati* expenses can be seen as administrative costs. From this perspective, the tax collected from the jagirdars can be called the government tax.

Land Tax - Mukundsinghji had established an efficient administrative system. Proper records were maintained for the holdings of each village and the associated land revenue. There was no laxity in the collection of revenue, which is why the land tax collected from royal villages in Samvat 1711 was four times the amount collected in Samvat 1701.[236] At that time, crops grown in the fields were taxed in kind, meaning grain was collected directly from the produce during the harvest. The collected grain was then sold, and the proceeds were deposited into the royal treasury. For fields where crops like cotton, hemp, maize, tobacco, vegetables, and millet were grown, the tax was collected in cash instead.[237] The revenue was referred to as *maal hasil*, which was determined through a process called *latai*. During this process, government officials estimated the yield per bigha (a unit of land) and determined the state's share or portion accordingly. This share was based on the expected yield and was typically one-fourth (*paon*

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[234] The vassals of the pargana autos were due to pay Rs. 1273 of this tax at the end of the year which was ordered to be collected by the Hawalgir of the Aton. This suggests that the entire amount will be several thousands.

[235] Document Samvat 1707

[236] papers documenting Jamabandi(Collections)for Samvat 1711, Sega Mutafarriqat, Nal Store.

[237] Jamabandi Mauza Deoli. Pargana Adon Samvat 1712.

teesra), one-third (*teesra*), or slightly more than one-third (*sawa teesra*). For example, if a field produced 3 maunds of wheat, the state's share would be 30 ser (one-fourth of a maund), 1 maund, or 1.25 maunds,[238] depending on the assessment. Similarly, for crops like cotton, hemp, maize, tobacco, vegetables, and millet, a cash tax was levied. The principle was that if the sun, cotton, vegetables, etc., were taken in a Kadta (share of harvested Yield), it was difficult to sell them, and if they were not sold, they could not be preserved for a long time.[239]

Land Management Every year, during the harvest season, the revenue from the land was estimated. The Patel (village head), Patwari (village accountant), Hawalgeer (revenue official), and Chaudhary (local leader) would inspect each field in every village alongside the farmers. They would assess the yield (Koont), and based on their estimation, the state's share or portion was fixed. Care was taken to ensure that the farmers were not dissatisfied and that the village did not face ruin. The feudal lords were instructed to ensure that their Rajputs' horses did not destroy the crops.[240]

Farmers who lacked seeds were provided with them by the state.[241] If there was increasing discontent in a village due to the harshness of government officials, the tyranny of the feudal lords, or any other reason, the authorities would take appropriate action, and a certificate of reassurance or satisfaction (known as a *patta*) would be issued to the villagers.[242] To maintain good relations between the king and the subjects, the Patels were given turbans and scarves

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238 Mauza Deoli, Pargana Adon in Samvat 1712,) A total of 2655 mana wheat was produced, out of which 868 mana was deposited in the government in the form of kadte. Document Samvat 1712, Jamabandi Mauza Deoli, Pargana Aton.
Tali Samvat 1707, Nal Ka Bhandara, Kartika Sudi 11

239 Document Samvat 1712, Jamabandi Mauza Deoli, Pargana Auton.
Tali Samvat 1707, Nal Ka Bhandara, Kartika Sudi

240 Talika Samvat 1707, Nal Ka Bhandara, Kartika Sudi

241 Document Samvat 1707.

242 Document No. 1707, Ashadha Budi 3, Kasba Bamori Ka Patto Dilasa Ko

(known as *pagarees* and *angochas*) during the month of Ashadha (the 3rd month of the Hindu calendar) as a gesture of respect. The annual budget of the district included provisions for this. The (Paharavani) distribution of these items was usually entrusted to the Pargana (district) officer.[243] There used to be government farming in many villages. In Samvat 1706, the government controlled several villages including Dhakadkhedi, Devli, Mandaniya, Tahla, Arniya, Rasulpur, Choma Mantri, Bhojpur, etc. During times of famine or other difficulties, the government would lend money to farmers in the form of *takaavi* (a loan).[244]

Mukata System - Land revenue was primarily collected directly from the farmers. However, some villages were leased out under a system called *Mukata*. Under this system, an individual would pay the fixed land tax for a village and in return, they would have the authority to collect the tax from the farmers themselves.[245] While this system benefitted the *Mukate-dar* (the person who took the village on lease) and the king, it often harmed the farmers, who were sometimes exploited, and faced increased pressure and hardship. The *Mukata* system was not widely practiced; only a few villages in some districts were leased under this system.

Loans - During Mukundsinghji's reign, the financial condition of the government was not favorable. As a result, the state would take loans at high interest rates and sometimes mortgaged villages to others in return for cash.[246] Occasionally, government-owned grain was also pledged to secure loans. This practice of handing over villages to others would likely have caused inconvenience to the subjects and disrupted the administration.

Other Taxes - In addition to *maal hasil* (revenue from land), the following 25 other taxes were levied: Nega, Kanwar,

[243] Document Samvat 1707. Seega Mutfarrikat
[244] Document Samvat 1706. Seega Mutfarrikat
[245] Takseem Samvat 1711, Pargana Urmaal!
[246] Papers Samvat 1707, Sega Mutafarrikat, Parwana in the name of Chaudhry of Auton

Matki, Khadpa, Ahithi, Patel, Khoonti, Kameen, Patwari, Kumhar, Balai, Farooi, Gaj Bandhti, Kansari, Sarai, Barabai, Chapo,Napo. In addition taxes such as Ghani, Kalali, Besak, Seengoti, Nav, Khoont, Jamdari, and Gharijna.[247] were also levied. The purpose and meaning of certain taxes, like Nega, Khadpa, Ahithi, Kansari, and Barabai, are not clearly understood. *Kanwar Matki* was perhaps collected for the expenses of royal princes. Taxes like Patel, Khoonti, Patwari, Balai, and Gaj Bandhti were likely collected to cover the expenses of village heads (*Patel*), guards (*Chowkidars*), accountants (*Patwari*), laborers (*Balai*), and elephants (*Hathi*), respectively. The *Sarai* tax was collected for the maintenance of government buildings and inns. *Napa* is a tax that continues to exist even now. *Chhapa* was possibly levied on printers or dyers (*Chhipa* caste). Boats were rented out on contract, and the *Kalali* tax was collected from liquor distilleries. Taxes like *Ghani* (oil mills) and *Seengoti* (likely related to cattle or horns) are self-explanatory. Axes were also collected from professions such as potters (*Kumhar*), tanners (*Chamar*), fishermen (*Kir*), shepherds (*Gujjar*), carpenters (*Khati*), and weavers (*Mehar*), in exchange for allowing them to work peacefully within the kingdom. One notable tax, *Jamdari*, was abolished some time ago. This tax was not collected from Rajputs, Patels, or Brahmins. Annual taxes were levied on livestock such as buffaloes, cows, goats, and camels.[248] The rates were as follows: Buffalo: 2.5 *takka* per buffalo, Cow: 2 *takka* (small amount in coins) per cow, Camel: 3 *takka* per camel, Goat: 1 *takka* per goat. This seemingly simple tax generated substantial revenue for the state. For instance, in Samvat 1711, a total of 1644 *takka* was collected from 803 animals in the village of Kanwas, indicating the revenue potential of such taxes.[249] Taxes were also levied on marriages and remarriages (*nata*). These taxes were collected by officials known as *Jakati*.

Inspection of Duties (jakat) - The daily income from duties (*jakat*) was audited, and the inspecting officer would

[247] Papers Samvat 1712 and 1709, Siga Mutafarriqat.
[248] Document Samvat 1714 , Siga Mutafarriqat.
[249] Document Samvat 1711, Siga Mutafarriqat

sign off on the daily accounts.[250] However, it is unclear what the designation of the inspecting officer was. It is likely that the district officer (*pargana afsar*) either conducted or oversaw the inspection. Official seals were used on duty-related documents. The seals on the documents of *jakat* from the Gagron district were in Persian, while those from other districts were in Hindi.

Revenue from Duties (Jakat) - Most duties were collected by appointed government officers (*jakati*), but some duties were also leased out under the *mukata* (lease) system.[251] The *mukatadar* (leaseholder) paid the fixed amount in installments. If the estimated revenue turned out to be significantly lower, the *mukatadar* could request a reduction in their payment.[252] The income from duties ranked second after land revenue (*maal hasil*). Significant revenue was generated from the approximately 25 aforementioned taxes. Additionally, substantial income was derived from import and export taxes levied on goods. The reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan's represented the golden age of the Mughal period, marked by thriving trade. The extent of import and export activities can be gauged by the fact that, between *Magha Budi 1* and *Chaitra Sudi 11* (a span of approximately five weeks) in Samvat 1711, a significant volume of goods passed through the *jakat* station at Bhupahera. This included 189 carts and 1,005 camels loaded with cottonand and 2000 bulls.[253] A duty of 4/- was levied on each cart loaded with cotton.

Central Administration - In Samvat 1707, Raj Shri Jagatsinghji Gaur was the royal minister. At the end of royal decrees, the phrase *"Vidyamaan Hajoor Raj Shri Jagatsinghji Gaur"* was inscribed. Orders issued to *pargana afsars* (district officers) were issued in the name of the royal court, starting with *"Maharajadhiraj Shri Mukundsinghji Bachanat"* (Command of His Majesty Mukundsinghji). There was no

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250 Zakat of Roznam, Kasba Kota, Samvat 1709.
251 Document Samvat 1707.
252 Document Samvat 1712, Siga Mutafarriqat.
253 Document Samvat 1711, Siga Mutafarrikat.

significant officer between the *Hawalgir* (district officer) and the Diwan. Orders from the royal court were directly addressed to the *Hawalgir* and the *Chaudhary*. District officers did not have the authority to allocate expenses or appoint personnel. Even for ongoing expenses, they were required to obtain annual approval from the royal court.

Expenses incurred for items like paper, ink, *jajam* (floor coverings), and document pouches for the *chauntra* (district courthouse) were also subject to annual approval from the court.[254] Policemen, messengers, and other staff for the district courthouse were appointed and sent from Kota.[255]

District Administration - The administration of the pargana (district) remained similar to what it was during the time of Madhosinghji. Madhosinghji did not introduce any significant reforms in this regard, maintaining the practices already in place. Mukundsinghji also found no need to alter this system. Each pargana (district) had one *Chaudhary*, one *qanungo*, and one *Hawalgir*. It has already been mentioned that the *Hawalgir* was usually a Rajput and appointed directly by the royal court. Each district also had a *Fotedar* (treasurer). The number of other workers in a district depended on its population and area. In Pargana Aton, 22 personnel were assigned in Samvat 1707. This provides an estimate of the personnel numbers in other districts. The *Hawalgir*, *Chaudhary*, and others were collectively referred to as *Tehaluwa* (attendants). The *Hawalgir*, addressed as *Thakur*, received a monthly salary of approximately 10 rupees, while soldiers were paid 3 rupees per month. The low salaries were due to the low cost of living at the time.For example, during Mukundsinghji's reign, the price of sorghum (*jowar*) was 6 *paisa* per *mani*, and the price of sugarcane was 1 rupee per thousand.

Punishments and Rewards - During the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan, harsh punishments were common. Minor offenses often resulted in the amputation of limbs, while serious crimes were punished with lifelong imprisonment or

[254] Document Samvat 1707, Siga Mutafarriqat.
[255] Document Samvat 1707, Siga Mutafarriqat.

the death penalty. Contemporary European travelers described even more severe forms of punishment during Shahjahan's rule.[256] In Kota, punishments were likely similarly severe, but government records provide no specific details. The surviving documents mostly pertain to financial matters and do not record capital punishment or similar events. From the records of Samvat 1707, it is evident that fines amounting to 5,599 rupees were collected from the town of Kota alone. It is evident that the penal policies during this time were not lenient. There was no systematic legal code in place, so judgments were made based on traditional practices and customs. In Samvat 1714, 700 rupees were collected as fines from 21 residents of Bansyahedi village for the crime of adultery. During Mukundsinghji's reign, several temples and gardens were constructed, and grants were issued for temples and religious institutions. Remarkably, despite being a devout Vaishnavite, he showed great generosity toward Islam. For instance, the village of "Khadiya" was granted as a *jagir* to support the Mittaji Mosque in Gagron.

State Expansion - Under Mukundsinghji, the Kota state expanded by adding five more districts (*parganas*), bringing the total to 48. Some districts were administered under the Garh Ranthambore subdivision of Ajmer province, while others were part of the Garh Gagron subdivision of Malwa province. Although the district of Gagron was integrated into the Kota state during Madhosinghji's reign, the Gagron fort remained under Mughal control. The fort served as the central location of the Gagron subdivision, where the Mughal administrator oversaw the surrounding areas to safeguard imperial interests.

Royal Family - Mukundsinghji's mother, Bagamde, was the daughter of the Maharana of Udaipur. Mohansinghji's mother's name was Shyam Jodhi, who was the daughter of the Maharaja of Jodhpur. Among Madhosinghji's seven widowed queens, four left Kota to live with their sons at their estates, while the remaining three queens and six Widowed

[256] Peter mandi—Bernier, Edward Terry, etc.

Khawaseine **(**personal attendants) stayed in Kota with Mukundsinghji.[257] Records mention ten wives of Mukundsinghji, including four Rathores, two Jhalas, one Jadon, one Sisodia, one Bargujar, and one Bhankrot.[258] Notably, the Jodhpur Rathore queen was granted villages in the Ghatauli district, such as Nimoda, Nagpura, and Sudela, as her *jagir*.[259] Other queens likely received similar grants. In Samvat 1707, 22,067 rupees were spent on the royal household, excluding the revenue from their *jagirs*. Mukundsinghji had two daughters, Mrigavati and Rajkanwar.

The Tale of Abala Meeni - One of Mukundsinghji's concubines was named Abala, who belonged to the Meena caste. She was from Khairabad and was renowned for her beauty. According to Pandit Ramkaran's account based on local legends:

"This village (Mukandra) was established by Maharaja Mukundsinghji of Kota. Once, while hunting in the region, he came across a woman named Abala, a Meena from Khairabad, who was exceptionally beautiful. The Maharaja fell deeply in love with her, brought her into his harem, and settled the village. He also built palaces, gardens, and hunting grounds in her honor." One night Abla's husband went to Mukundsinghji with a dagger which he persuaded him by granting some jagirs and also the right to collect the tax of camels, horses, and carts from the traveller who passed through this door.[260] General Sir Cunningham wrote that:

"Abla Meenee agreed to live with Mukundsinghji and had made it a condition that a palace should be built for heron the mountain of Dara and a lamp should be lit on it every night so that the villagers of Abla could see it. This lamp is also lit at this time."[261]

Abala's Palace, located on the summit of a hill in Mukundara, is a simple structure that is now deteriorating

[257] From the book of Ranibhang of Kasar.
[258] Document Samvat 1707.
[259] Document Samvat 1707, Taksim Pargana Ghatoli.
[260] Pt. Ramakaran: Ahawale Riyasat Kota, p. 61.
[261] Report of the Indian Archaeological Survey, Vol. 23, p. 133.

over time. It consists of a two-story building where Abala resided. The ground floor has two rooms facing each other with a tibari (small pavilion) in between. The upper floor is designed similarly. The remaining buildings in the complex were for the residence of servants and attendants. The entire area is surrounded by protective walls with two gates, giving it the appearance of a small fort from a distance. In Kota city, this woman also commissioned the construction of a stepwell (bawdi) and planted a garden. While the stepwell still exists today, the garden has been merged into the larger "Bada Bagh," making it difficult to determine its original boundaries. It is remarkable that during a period when grand monuments like the Taj Mahal were being built in India..., Mukundsinghji built such a modest residence for his concubine that it bore no signs of art or beauty. Suryamal criticized Mukundsinghji heavily regarding this concubine.[262]

Mukundara - In the year 1708 Samvat (1651 CE),[263] Mukundsinghji fortified the Mukundara Pass and constructed a gate in the valley. Strategically, this fort held great importance at the time. It marked the division between Malwa and Hadoti and was a key site for encounters between armies. For instance, after being defeated by Jaswant Rao Holkar, Colonel Monson retreated through this valley. When the Kota state had been established for only about 30 years, securing control over such a crucial passage on the empire's main route was a remarkable political feat. During that period, Hindu rulers were generally not permitted to construct forts. Thus, building this fort on the newly established state's border during the reign of the powerful Emperor Shahjahan demonstrates Mukundsinghji’s significant prestige at the Mughal court. This fort, along with the nearby village established by Mukundsinghji, was named Mukundara in his honor. Since then, the mountain ranges in this area have also been called Mukundara.

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[262] Vanshabhaskara, Part III, pp. 632-33.
[263] Thakur Lakshmandan

A Tremor in the Mughal Empire - Mukundsinghji was able to rule for only seven years when a major upheaval struck the Mughal Empire. The royal throne began to totter, and Shahjahan's life became full of peril.The royal family was engulfed in fierce conflict, with one prince thirsting for the blood of another, spreading fear and unrest throughout the country. How could such unrest spare Kota? Mukundsinghji was inevitably drawn into the royal family's turmoil and, in Samvat 1717, sacrificed his life on the altar of loyalty.

Shahjahan's Four Sons - Shahjahan had four sons: Dara Shikoh, Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad. Dara Shikoh, the eldest, was Shahjahan’s favorite. He was the governor of Punjab but spent most of his time with his father in Delhi. Shahjahan intended to make him his successor, and many administrative duties were entrusted to him. The entire empire anticipated Dara Shikoh's ascension. He was a scholar of Persian and inclined toward Sufi philosophy. He translated the Upanishads into Persian and fostered harmony with Hindus through his liberal views. Rajputs held him in high regard. Shuja was the governor of Bengal. Though learned in Persian, courageous, and intelligent, he spent much of his time indulging in the pleasures of the harem and alcohol. Aurangzeb was Shahjahan’s most capable son. While he lacked magnanimity and harbored deceit, he possessed the qualities needed for that era and its challenges. He was politically astute, experienced in governance, adept at secrecy, and skilled in military strategy. He easily rallied orthodox Muslims against Dara Shikoh. Murad was strong and brave but lacked political acumen. He was neither capable of keeping secrets nor comprehending intricate strategies. Generous and kind-hearted, he treated people well but was so indulgent that he sometimes neglected urgent matters to remain in the harem.[264]

Shahjahan’s Illness In Samvat 1714 (1657 CE) - Shahjahan fell ill, and within a week, he became immobile.

[264] JN., Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Volume I, pp. 294-300.
Ishwariprasad: A Short History of Muslim Rule in India, p. 615-18.

Before his nobles and ministers, he declared his eldest son, Dara Shikoh, as his successor and counseled him on governance. Dara took control of administration but concealed his father's illness, governing in the emperor's name out of fear of his brothers. However, how long could this secrecy last? News of the emperor's illness spread across the empire, accompanied by rumors of his death. After remaining ill for a long time, Shahjahan traveled to Agra for a change of climate. Following this move, he never again left the Agra Fort during his lifetime. When he left Delhi, could he have ever imagined that he would spend the rest of his life as a prisoner ?

Attacks of Princes - As soon as the rumor of the Emperor Shahjahan’s's death spread in the country, the flame of unrest began to blaze everywhere. Dara took vows of devotion from the royal ministers and closed the routes to Bengal and the south to prevent the false news of the emperor's death. This led to more false rumors. Murad and Shuja assumed the title of emperor in their respective provinces and started preparing for war. But Aurangzeb monitored the situation with great tact. In the end, both Murad and Aurangzeb met and declared Dara as an 'infidel' and mutually decided that the empire should be divided into two if conquered. Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Sindh will be ruled by Murad and the rest of the country will be ruled by Aurangzeb. After this determination, the combined army of the two brothers advanced to the north and camped near the village of Dharmat,[265] near Ujjain, waiting for the army of Dara. [266]

Shuja's defeat – Shuja marched towards Delhi wearing the crown, but Dara's son Sulemanshikoh and Maharaja Jaisinghji of Jaipur defeated him near Benares and he fled

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[265] (i) Sir, J. N. Sarkar : History of Aurangzeb, Part 1 Page 306-07, 312-13, 315,326,335,336,339 and 376.
(ii Alamgir Nama, pp. 27, 28, 43, 53-56, 84.

[266] Dharmat is located at 23 N 75.43 E. It is 12 miles north of Dipalpur. Dipalpur is located at 22.50N 75.36E. It is 2 miles southwest of the railway station at Fatehabad and 14 miles from Ujjain, mostly leaning towards the south. Indian Atlas Sheet No. 37

towards Bengal. After this, Shuja did not make any effort to attain the kingdom.

Mukundsinghji's invitated for Battle - Dara had already received the news of Mukundsinghji's invitation to Aurangzeb and Murad, and a large imperial army was being sent to stop them. Mukundsinghji received a decree to join the imperial army, and he set out with 5000 horsemen. Along with him, his four brothers Mohan Singh, Jujhar Singh, Kanhi Ram and Kishore Singh also departed. On the other hand, the imperial army under the leadership of Kasim Khan and Maharaja Jaswantsinghji of Jodhpur was equipped to march Mukundsinghji joined it. This army reached Ujjain and camped on the banks of the river Kshipra.

Wait for for Battle - For two days, negotiations for a treaty continued between Aurangzeb and Jaswant Singh. However, Qasim Khan had already met with Aurangzeb, so he was not concerned with the treaty talks. During this time, Aurangzeb had gained a complete understanding of the opposition’s internal dynamics. He had learned that within the opposing camp, there was mutual enmity, suspicion, and conflicting objectives. Qasim Khan did not agree with Dara’s liberal views, and Dara had also failed to clarify whether the leader of the army was Jaswant Singh or Qasim Khan. The Rajputs dominated the army, and these men considered it dishonorable to follow anyone other than their own commanders. Additionally, the Muslims wanted to fight in their own way, while the Rajputs wanted to fight in their traditional style.[267]

Battle Trumpet - With Qasim Khan joining him, Aurangzeb was confident of victory. On the other hand, Jaswant Singh was unwilling to accept humiliating terms for a treaty. For two days, both armies remained in a state of anticipation. Aurangzeb believed that Jaswant Singh would retreat from the battlefield without fighting. However, Jaswant

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[267] (i) Alamgir Nama, pp. 56-78.
(ii) Sir J. N. Sarkar : History of Aurangzeb, Vol. II, pp. 1-8.

Singh hoped that considering the potential devastation to his family, Aurangzeb might withdraw. But in the end, disaster was inevitable. The battle trumpet sounded, and on April 15, 1658 (Samvat 1714), the fierce war began.

Mukundsinghji in the Vanguard - Jaswant Singh had divided his 10,000-strong army into two parts. One part was commanded by Qasim Khan, and the other by Mukundsinghji. Along with them were six other Rajput commanders. On the right wing of the main army was Rai Singh Sisodia, and on the left wing was Iftikhar Khan, each leading their respective forces. In the center, Jaswant Singh himself led the army with 2,000 Rathores.[268] Mukundsinghji, along with his four brothers and other Rajput commanders were waiting to strike with their arms.

Mukundsinghji's Battle – Both armies advanced towards each other, raining shells and bullets from cannons and muskets. Aurangzeb's army particularly targeted the Rajputs. Mukundsinghji had no space to maneuver and strike. His army was surrounded from all sides, and his men were falling one after another. Seeing this, Mukundsinghji and the other Rajput commanders could no longer hold back. With battle cries of "Ram Ram," they urged their horses forward and charged at the enemies like lions. Aurangzeb's artillery unleashed a fierce barrage of shells, but Mukundsinghji, driven by battle frenzy, continued to advance. Many Rajput warriors fell to the bombardment, and the artillery soldiers faced them with remarkable bravery. Despite this, the Rajputs' spirit remained undiminished. In the end, the artillery officer, Murshidkuli Khan, fought valiantly but was killed, and his followers were shaken. Thus, Mukundsinghji, risking his life, tore through the artillery and charged directly into Aurangzeb's vanguard.[269] A fierce battle took place here. One warrior clashed with another, and Zulfiqar Khan, the officer of

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[268] (i) Alamgirnama, p. 65.
(ii) Sir J. N. Sarkar History of Orangzeb, Vol. 2, pp. 12-13. Appendix 23

[269] Alamgir Nama, pp. 66-67. Appendix 23

Aurangzeb's vanguard, descended from his elephant and, like an Indian warrior, fought amidst the corpses in the battlefield, enraged. However, even his remarkable self-sacrifice could not stop the Rajputs' fervor in battle. He was struck down by two fatal wounds, and the Rajputs, emboldened, charged forward.[270] This was a critical moment for Aurangzeb. If the advancing Rajputs had not been stopped, Aurangzeb's empire would not have become a reality. The Rajputs kept winning, and their morale grew with every passing moment. However, fate changed, and the nature of the battle shifted suddenly. Other officers of Aurangzeb's vanguard fought with patience and valor. Mounted on elephants unwavering determination , they began to battle the Rajputs.The battle became so intense that the battlefield was drenched in blood. The Rajputs were divided into several groups. Haada, Rathore, Gaud—each fighting under their respective leaders. They attacked Aurangzeb's forces in their own way, but because they were divided, their attacks lacked strength. Furthermore, when the Rajputs broke through Aurangzeb's artillery and charged into his vanguard, the officers of the artillery carefully separated them from Jaswant Singhji’s forces. As a result, Mukundsinghji, with his four brothers and other Rajput commanders. At this moment, Aurangzeb witnessed the fierce attack of the Rajputs and advanced towards them himself. In front of him was Aurangzeb, and on both his right and left, his two senior officers, Safshikan Khan and Sheikh Mir, were attacking with patience and cleverness. Due to the artillery, the Rajputs could not receive any support from behind. Not caring for their lives , Mukundsinghji and the other Rajput leaders fought bravely.[271]

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[270] (i)**Rajputane bad guhar jahalat parwar aj waqooye ee haal kheerahater shud: wa aj Topkhane Humayun gujashta... 'Bar harawal mokabe mansoor takhtand... jange azeem dar pewast.'** The situation in Rajputana worsened due to the rise of ignorance and disorder: and from Humayun’s artillery that had passed by... the vanguard positions were strongly occupied... a great battle then ensued-Alamgir Nama, p. 67.

(ii) Sir, J. N. Sarkar: History of Morangzeb, Vol. 2, pp. 14-15.

[271] (i) Sir J. N. Sarkar : History of Orangzeb, G2, pp. 15-17.

(ii) Shralamgir Nama, pp. 68-69, 70.

Mukundsinghji's Heroic End - In the end, Mukundsinghji was struck by an arrow in his eye and attained martyrdom. His brother, Mohan Singhji, also fought valiantly and was killed near his brother. Jujharsinghji and Kanheiramji also sacrificed their lives on the battlefield, beside their brother. Kishoresinghji, wounded by countless arrows, fell unconscious and collapsed amidst the piles of bodies. Mukundsinghji's other companions, six other Rajput leaders, also embraced death courageously. 500 of Mukundsinghji's brave soldiers fought and died alongside their lord on the battlefield. Thus, Mukund Singhji, along with his four brothers, fell on the battlefield like a hero, demonstrating unparalleled devotion and ethics.[272]

Jaswant Singhji, having been wounded, returned to Jodhpur, and due to the betrayal of Kasim Khan, Aurangzeb, after achieving victory, looted the royal army's camps extensively. In memory of his victory, Aurangzeb named this place Fatehabad. He established a village on the battlefield, planted a garden, and built a mosque and a sarai (rest house). The descendants of Ratan Singhji Rathore (of Ratlam) had erected a memorial at his cremation site, but over time, it was destroyed. Now, a grand memorial made of white stone has been built in its place. It is indeed surprising that there is no memorial at the place where a hero like Mukundsinghji sacrificed his life. There is a lot of praise for Mukundsinghji's bravery in the books of Bhaats and in the poetry of Charans, but the accounts of Mukundsinghji and Mohan Singhji's battle, written by Mohammad Salih Kambu and Mirza Mohammad Kazim, are a source of pride for both these heroes and the authors.

News in Kota and 17 Satiyas (Self immolation) - When the bodies of Mukundsinghji and his brothers were being lifted from the heap of corpses for their last rites, it was discovered

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[272] (i) Alamgir Nama, p. 70. Appendix 23
(ii) Amal-E-Saleh, Vol. 3, pp. 286 and 287.
(iii) Vanshabhaskara, Part III, p. 2667.

that Kishoresinghji still had life in him. After appropriate treatment, he regained consciousness, and badly wounded, he returned to Kota with the surviving soldiers, bearing the tragic news of the death of his four brothers, along with the resentment of the victorious Aurangzeb. Kishoresinghji had 42 wounds. The remaining army, having lost their four brave noblemen and 500 valiant soldiers, was in a devastated condition. Mukundsinghji's son, Jagatsinghji, was only 14 years old at the time. Upon receiving the sorrowful news, Mukundsinghji's ten queens and seven concubines committed sati (self-immolation). What could be a more painful day in the royal family of Kota? Mukundsinghji and his three brothers were dead. Kishoresinghji, with his countless injuries, was caught between life and death. The successor of the Kota state, just fourteen years old, had already lost all his mothers, who had perished in their desire to join their husbands in the afterlife. Meanwhile, Aurangzeb, after victories in Dharmat and Samugarh, had donned the royal crown. He had witnessed with his own eyes how Mukundsinghji and Mohansinghji had relentlessly torn through his army, advancing like the destructive forces of time. The emotional and political trials faced by the fourteen-year-old Jagatsinghji, coping with the devastation of his family and the political uncertainties, were a harsh test indeed!

The Battle of Samugarh - After his victory in Dharmat, Aurangzeb and Murad moved towards Agra. On May 21, 1658 CE, they reached Gwalior and crossed the Chambal river the same day. Dara had blocked all crossing points of the Chambal where an army could pass, but Aurangzeb managed to cross at another location and set up his camp near the village of Samugarh, about one mile from the Rampur Thag, situated approximately 8 miles east of Agra.[273]

Royal Vanguard at Bundi - Dara Shikoh had already bid farewell to his father Shahjahan with tears in his eyes before setting out. Near Dholpur, he couldn't stop Aurangzeb

[273] (i) Aurangzeb Nama, pp. 75-76.
(ii) Sir J. N. Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol. II, p. 30

from crossing the Chambal river. Now, with an army of 50,000, Dara was prepared to fight Aurangzeb on the battlefield of Samugarh. A long line of artillery was placed at the front of the army, followed by several thousand infantry soldiers holding muskets. In the third line, a large contingent of 500 camels was positioned, and behind them were hundreds of elephants. Thousands of cavalrymen, organized according to the Indian military system and led by their respective commanders, were stationed behind all of this. In the vanguard, Rajputs from Hada, Rathore, Sisodia, and Gaur clan, were placed, led by Bundi's Shatrushalji.[274] Their bravery was well known in the Mughal army, and Dara had great trust in them.

Shatrushalji's Attack on Murad - Dara's Muslim general, Khalil Ullah, betrayed him and started pretending to fight, but Shatrushalji, cutting through the artillery and the army of Murad, reached right next to Murad's elephant. Murad, fighting with courage and determination, continued to battle but, after receiving several wounds, pulled his elephant back. At that point, Shatrushalji, along with other Rajput warriors, attacked Aurangzeb. They fought with ferocious valor, clashing head-on with Aurangzeb and his followers. Despite the fierce battle, both sides showed unyielding bravery. For a long time, the battle raged, and during this combat, Shatrushalji, along with other Rajput nobles, was struck down. Many Rajput soldiers, following their leader, launched ferocious counterattacks, astonishing the Muslims and sacrificing their lives in the process.[275] Along with Shatrushalji, his son, Bharatsinghji, Bhai Mohkamsinghji, his two sons and a nephew named Udaysinghji were all killed in this battle. When Shatrushalji was killed, Aurangzeb shouted and said, "That is not Fatehabad, this is Fatehabad." Thus in the battlefields of Dharmat and Samugarh, ten Hada nobles and many Hada soldiers sacrificed their lives in an unprecedented display of self-devotion.[276]

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[274] Sir J. N. Sarkar : History of Aurangzeb, Vol. II, p. 41.
[275] Ibid p. 49-51.
[276] Tod : Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 526.



Rao Jagatsinghji
(Samvat 1714-1740)

Rao Jagatsinghji

(Samvat 1714-1740)

Coronation – Jagatsinghji ascended the throne in May 1658 CE (Samvat 1714). Mukundsinghji had attained martyrdom on the battlefield of Dharmat on April 15, 1658 CE. It must have taken some days for the injured Kishoresinghji and the remaining army of Mukundsinghji to return to Kota. Hence, Jagatsinghji's coronation would have taken place in early May (during the month of Jyeshtha).

Youth and Dire Circumstances – Thakur Lakshmandan noted that Jagatsinghji was 14 years old at the time of his coronation. Mukundsinghji was about 38 years old at the time of his demise. Thus, this age seems accurate. Assuming the responsibilities of the kingdom in the aftermath of the demise of the ruler of Kota and his three brothers, while Aurangzeb was about to ascend the throne in Delhi, meant stepping into extremely challenging circumstances for the young Jagatsinghji. At merely 14 years old, Jagatsinghji had to bear the burden of state affairs. Over 500 warriors had perished on the battlefield of Dharmat. The Mau Maidana region had already been granted to Bundi King Shatrushalji by Shahjahan , creating financial difficulties for the state in addition to the devastation of the Dharmat battle. Moreover, there was the looming fear of Aurangzeb, who could not forget the events of Dharmat. The ongoing disputes over the Mau region between Bundi and Kota, which began during the reign of Madhosinghji, had only intensified. Managing the kingdom and the royal family amidst such daunting conditions was truly a remarkable feat for Jagatsinghji.

Summons to Delhi – After winning the battle of Samugarh, Aurangzeb besieged the Agra Fort and cruelly imprisoned his father Shahjahan, who remained there in lifelong confinement. Aurangzeb then donned the imperial insignia and assumed the reins of the empire. Observing this,

Murad grew envious, but Aurangzeb cunningly invited him to a feast, where he plied him with alcohol. When Murad fell asleep, Aurangzeb deceitfully captured him and sent him to Gwalior Fort. Subsequently, Murad was executed under the pretense of being accused of murder.[277] Meanwhile, Dara left Agra for Delhi and from there set out towards Lahore. Aurangzeb also departed from Agra for Delhi and ascended the throne on July 21, 1658 CE, as per the astrologers' chosen auspicious time. While assuming the crown, Aurangzeb could not forget the opposition from Jaswantsinghji and Mukundsinghji, but his path was not yet free of obstacles. Therefore, he did not wish to further antagonize the Rajputs, as it could strengthen the support for his rival brothers. Consequently, immediately after taking the throne, he summoned Jaswantsinghji, Jagatsinghji, and Bhausinghji (of Bundi) to Delhi. After issuing the summons, Aurangzeb could not stay in Delhi due to his fear of Dara and soon departed with his army to pursue him.

Meeting at the Sutlej and Honors – Jagatsinghji, upon receiving the imperial summons, departed for Delhi. However, upon reaching Delhi, they learned that the emperor had already departed, so Jagatsinghji followed him at a rapid pace.Jagatsinghji and other Hindu kings met Aurangzeb on the banks of the Sutlaj. Along with the other rulers, Jagatsinghji was honored and assured that no mistreatment would befall them. Jagatsinghji was granted a *mansab* of 2,000 and a robe of honor (*khilat*).[278] This meeting likely took place in August 1658 CE (Shravan, Samvat 1715). At this time, Jagatsinghji had only been on the throne of Kota for three months.

Aurangzeb’s Fear of the Rajputs and Jagatsinghji in Delhi – Although Aurangzeb had granted honors (Khilat), titles (Khitab), and mansabs to Hindu rulers such as Jagatsinghji, Jaswantsinghji, and Bhausinghji, and satisfied

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[277] Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Volume 2, page 65–100.

[278] (i)- Alamgirnama, pp. 163-64.
(ii). Vanshabhaskara, Part III, p. 2738.
(iii) Tod : Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 554.

them in all ways, he still feared that they might ally with Dara or Shuja. Therefore, he ordered all Hindu rulers to stay in Delhi. The capital was teeming with imperial forces, and numerous spies kept a watchful eye on the activities of the Hindu kings. Thus, the rulers remained in Delhi for a long time in a state of quasi-detention. Shortly thereafter, circumstances changed, and Aurangzeb had to abandon his pursuit of Dara and return to Delhi. He then set out toward the east, taking the Hindu rulers with him.[279]

Shuja's Attempt – Upon hearing rumors of Shahjahan's death, Shuja crowned himself and set out westward to claim the throne of Delhi. As previously mentioned, Sulaiman Shikoh, the son of Dara Shikoh, faced defeat at the hands of the Jaipur ruler, Maharaja Jaisinghji, and fled toward Bengal. Shortly after, Aurangzeb achieved victory in the Battle of Dharmat. When Sulaiman Shikoh received this news, his courage broke, and he fled north to avoid Aurangzeb and to meet his father. During his retreat, Maharaja Jaisinghji of Jaipur abandoned the prince and returned to his kingdom. Meanwhile, Aurangzeb pursued Dara, passing through Lahore and reached Multan. Seeing Aurangzeb far from Agra, Shuja prepared to attack the city. When Aurangzeb received this news, he became deeply concerned, as he now faced threats on two fronts—Dara on one side and Shuja on the other. However, Dara Shikoh was now isolated and far from the capital, and all major Hindu rulers were present in Delhi, reducing the likelihood of their joining Dara. Returning from Multan, Aurangzeb organized preparations to confront Shuja.

Jagatsinghji Joins Aurangzeb - Aurangzeb began his march eastward from Delhi, accompanied by Jaswantsinghji, Jagasinghji, and Bhausinghji. At the time, Jagatsinghji was under 15 years of age. He called upon his uncle, Kishoresinghji, from Kota, who had not yet fully recovered from the 42 wounds he had sustained in the Battle of Dharmat. Together, Jagatsinghji and Kishore singhji joined Aurangzeb's campaign.

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[279] Alamgirnama,

Aurangzeb had already dispatched a force led by Prince Sultan Muhammad. Another contingent, commanded by Zulfiqar Khan and consisting mainly of Rajputs, joined the prince's army, with Kishoresinghji among the troop.[280] Aurangzeb himself joined his son at Koda Mukam on January 1659.[281]

Jagatsinghji and Kishoresinghji in the Vanguard - On January 3, 1659 CE , Aurangzeb arranged his army for battle. A critical question arose—who would lead the vanguard? Muslim emperors often harbored reservations about fully trusting Hindu rulers, but they could not deny the bravery of the Rajputs. It was well known that Rajputs fought with their lives at stake, piercing through enemy formations like arrows. Leading the vanguard was a matter of pride for them, and dying on the battlefield was considered an open gateway to heaven.In imperial forces, Rajputs always led the vanguard. This tradition was observed in Bundelkhand, the Deccan, Balkh-Badakhshan, Dharmat, Samugarh, and other battles. Many Rajput commanders had displayed extraordinary valor, sacrificing their lives in combat. Following this policy, Aurangzeb assigned Rajputs to the vanguard in the Battle of Khajwa. Fifteen-year-old Jagatsinghji, clad in armor, stood in the vanguard, resembling the young warrior Abhimanyu. He was joined by Kishore singhji, surrounded by the valiant Hada Rajput warriors. The army waited only for the sound of the war drums. Fierce and resolute, the Rajputs stood ready to risk their lives in the battle.[282] Jaswantsinghji had not forgotten his opposition to Aurangzeb. The insulting reply he sent during the Battle of Dharmat still pierced his heart like an arrow, and he was waiting for an opportune moment to exact revenge. On January 3, the army advanced after being fully prepared. Meanwhile, Shuja's forces also began moving forward, leaving only a mile of distance between the two armies. As night approached, both armies halted and rested under the cover of their artillery. Soldiers, wearing their armor, stayed in their

[280] Alamgirnama, p. 226, 234, 235.
[281] Alamgirnama, p. 235, 238, 241
[282] Alamgirnama, p. 245-50

designated positions for the night. As dawn neared and Aurangzeb was performing the *tahajjud* (after midnight) prayer, a sudden uproar erupted in the camp, causing chaos among the troops. Messengers rushed to inform the emperor that Maharaja Jaswantsingh had looted the imperial camp and fled with his 14,000 soldiers. During the raid, JaswantSsngh not only looted the emperor's tents but also plundered the tents of the rulers of Bundi and Kota. He escaped with a large amount of wealth.[283]

Jagatsinghji's Loyalty - Amid the ensuing chaos, many people joined Jaswantsinghji in his flight, while others defected to Shuja's side, significantly weakening Aurangzeb's position. If Shuja had attacked Aurangzeb's army immediately, Aurangzeb would have faced great peril and might have lost the empire he had recently secured. In this dire situation, Jagatsinghji and Kishoresinghji displayed unwavering loyalty by standing firmly with Aurangzeb. Despite the betrayal by Jaswantsinghji, the Kota ruler once again demonstrated the same steadfast loyalty he had displayed a few months earlier at the battlefield of Dharmat. Jagatsinghji and Kishoresinghji stood firm with Aurangzeb, reorganizing the imperial army for battle.

Jagatsinghji's Bravery - Jagatsinghji and Kishoresinghji were once again placed at the vanguard. When Shuja's army attacked, they fought valiantly, forcing Shuja's forces to retreat from the battlefield. Many soldiers from Shuja's side joined Aurangzeb after the battle. The fighting ended with Aurangzeb emerging victorious, returning with significant plunder.[284] In this battle, Bundi's ruler, Bhausinghji, also fought bravely in the vanguard, a feat extensively praised by Suryamall in his writings.[285]

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283 (i) Vaishbhaskara, Part III, pp. 2768-69.
(ii) Sir J. N. Sarkar: History of Orangzeb, Vol. 2, pp. 133-34.

284 Alamgir Nama, pp. 263-65.

285 Vanshabhaskara III, p. 2770.

Aurangzeb and Dara - After his defeat at the Battle of Khajuha, Shuja fled towards Bengal and disappeared. Meanwhile, Dara Shikoh wandered through Lahore, Multan, Sukkur, Sehwan, Thatta, and Gujarat, enduring numerous hardships. Eventually, he reached Ajmer, where Jaswantsinghji did not support him. Dara fought for three days but was defeated and fled the battlefield. He reached Merta and later moved to Ahmednagar. However, the fortress commander at Ahmednagar refused him entry, and the same treatment was meted out by the commander of Kutch. Sawai Jaisinghji was pursuing him relentlessly, while Dara's troubles and adversities continued to grow. Exhausted and desperate, Dara finally arrived at Dadar, where he sought refuge with Malik Jiwan Pathan, who ultimately betrayed him. He handed him over to Aurangzeb, and Aurangzeb killed him mercilessly. [286]

Aurangzeb and Shivaji: Even after imprisoning his father, turning one brother into a beggar, and orchestrating the deaths of two other brothers, Aurangzeb could not sit peacefully on the imperial throne. In the south, Shivaji, through his strength and valor, had established his kingdom and started opposing Aurangzeb. Shivaji’s forces began traversing Mughal territories to collect *chauth* (a form of tax). To suppress him, Aurangzeb sent Shaista Khan, but he returned injured and unsuccessful.[287] Maharaja Jaswant Singh received this news while en route and also turned back. Subsequently, Maharaja Jaisinghji of Jaipur was appointed for this task. He marched south with a large army, launched extensive campaigns, captured several of Shivaji’s forts, and ultimately laid siege to Purandar. Shivaji, compelled by the situation, agreed to certain terms and went to Agra. However, Aurangzeb did not treat him appropriately, which left Shivaji displeased. Using his wit, Shivaji escaped from Agra and returned to his homeland.

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[286] Sir J. N. Sarkar : History of Aurangzeb, Vol. 2, p. 110-220.
[287] Sir J. N. Sarkar : History of Aurangzeb, Vol. 2, p. 47-51.

Aurangzeb's War with the Rajputs: On December 10, 1678 CE, after the death of Maharaja Jaswantsinghji of Jodhpur in Peshawar, Aurangzeb declared Jodhpur as imperial property (*khalsa*). Aurangzeb himself reached Ajmer and began making extensive preparations for a war with Marwar.

Aurangzeb's Actions in Jodhpur: Aurangzeb demolished many temples in Jodhpur, established Mughal rule, and refused to recognize Jaswantsinghji's son, Ajitsinghji, as the rightful king. Mewar and Marwar joined forces and fought relentlessly for five years in self-defense. Aurangzeb's son, Akbar, allied with the Rajputs, but eventually, Aurangzeb used cunning diplomacy to sow distrust among the Rajputs towards Akbar. This left Akbar isolated, forcing him to flee southward, where he sought refuge with Sambhaji. Exhausted from the prolonged conflict, Aurangzeb and the Rajputs signed a treaty on June 14, 1681 CE at Rajsamand, granting Marwar to Ajitsinghji and allowing Aurangzeb to turn his attention southward.

Destruction of Hindu Temples: During his war with the Rajputs, Aurangzeb destroyed numerous temples in Marwar and Mewar. Although he had conflict with these two states, he also targeted temples in other regions. Aurangzeb considered the demolition of Hindu temples and the destruction of idols as a significant religious duty. On June 3, 1680 CE, he completely destroyed a temple in Amber, showing no regard for the loyalty of Jaipur's ruler, Jai Singh, who was a devoted ally of the Mughal Empire.[288]

Aurangzeb's March South and Temple Demolitions: Once relieved of Rajput resistance, Aurangzeb marched southward to subdue the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda and to suppress the Marathas. Along the way, he continued his campaign of demolishing temples in the surrounding regions as he advanced. Wherever the Mughal army set up camp, temples within several miles around would be destroyed. The news of Aurangzeb's advance spread far and wide. People

[288] Sir J. N. Sarkar: History of Orangzeb, Vol. 3, p. 304

living along his route were terrified. Priests and protectors of temples trembled in fear.

Fear in Kota State: The route from Ajmer to Burhanpur passed through Kota State. The people in the region where his army was expected to pass were in great distress, especially those near famous temples with tall spires. In Kota, the temple of Gordhannathji was particularly well-known at the time. Upon hearing the news of Aurangzeb's approach, the priests of the temple went to Jagatsinghji, who was in Aurangabad at the time. After hearing the verbal report and reading the petition from the temple officials, Jagatsinghji became very concerned about the temple.

Jagatsinghji's Letter Regarding the Temple: Jagatsinghji wrote to the local officials in Kota—Vijayram, Rai Dwarkadas, and Chaudhary Ranchhoddas—saying that since the Mughal army was coming from Bundi to Kota on the way to Mandu, until it was confirmed whether the army would pass or not, the idol of Shri Nathji should be hidden in Rai Pur, and if it was confirmed that the army would come to Mandu, the idol should be moved to a safer place, like Bisalpur. He instructed that this should be done in such a way that no one would find out.[289]

Jagatsinghji in the South: During the above campaigns, Jagatsinghji was with the royal army. It is only known that he reached the south, but it is unclear whether he was with someone or alone. Muslim historians, while mentioning the actions of Hindu rulers, often hesitate to provide details of their valor, so there is little information about Jagatsinghji in Persian chronicles.

Jagatsinghji in Hyderabad: In the south, Aurangzeb sent Khwajah Bahadur with a large Mughal army to suppress the Marathas. Jagatsinghji accompanied him. Several attacks

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[289] Message from His Majesty, Maharajadhiraj Shri Jagatsinghji .'Samvat 1738,
Appendix 23

were made on the Marathas near Aurangabad, and many Marathas were killed. These campaigns continued for a long time, and defeated Marathas would take refuge in Hyderabad, which was under the Sultan of Bijapur at the time. Ibrahim Khan killed many royal soldiers and officers. It seemed as though the royal army was about to be completely destroyed. The royal emperor became very angry and ordered Khanzah Bahadur to completely destroy Hyderabad. Khanzah Bahadur, along with Jagatsinghji, marched towards Hyderabad and set up a camp at Malkapur. This was the same place where Prince Khurram had pitched his camp before besieging Burhanpur, and it was here that Madhosinghji first demonstrated his courage and valor. The royal army set up for the siege, trenches were dug, and artillery was positioned. Meanwhile, the commander of Hyderabad's fort also prepared to face the attack. For a long time, skirmishes occurred between the two armies, but neither side achieved complete victory.[290]

Laxity in the Royal Army - The siege continued for several days. At this point, Hyderabad's military commander, Muhammad Ibrahim, devised a strategy. His army began showing signs of slackness in direct combat. The spies who used to roam at night were likely called off, leading to a decline in vigilance in the royal army. Khanzah Bahadur became so lax in his military leadership that it seemed as if he was a guest of Hyderabad. Other officers in the royal army also became sluggish. The royal soldiers began playing games like *Chaupard* and *Shatranj* (chess). One night, the entire army was in a state of carefree slumber. Elephants and horses were tied, and the army commanders and officers had removed their armor and were wearing casual clothes. Suddenly, Muhammad Ibrahim Khan launched a surprise attack, causing chaos in the royal army. Khān Jahān Bahādur prepared to fight and arranged his army for confrontation, but before that, Muhammad Ibrāhīm Khān had already killed many royal soldiers and officers. It seemed as though the royal army was about to be completely destroyed.

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[290] Munshi Moolchand, p. 110.

Jagatsinghji's Vigilance and Valor – At the time when the entire royal army was in a state of unconsciousness, Jagatsinghji was alert, vigilant, and equipped with weapons. As soon as Muhammad Ibrahim launched the attack, he stood firm to defend the royal army. He encountered Sheikh Minhaj, a highly valiant commander in the Hyderabad army. The battle between them continued for a long time. While the royal army was in turmoil, Jagatsinghji was creating havoc in one part of the enemy's army. He dismantled a section of the Hyderabad army. Meanwhile, Khanzah Bahadur regained his composure and began confronting the enemies. He engaged with Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, and when reinforcements arrived to assist the royal army, Khanzah Bahadur emerged victorious. However, the royal army suffered significant losses in this battle, and Khanzah Bahadur faced severe criticism.[291] Aurangzeb dismissed him from his position and recalled him. In the Persian chronicles, Jagatsinghji's name does not appear among those killed, but Colonel Tod wrote that Jagatsinghji attained martyrdom while fighting in the south. It is highly likely that Jagatsinghji was killed in this battle.[292]

Jagatsinghji in the South – Between the years Samvat 1737 and 1740 (1680 and 1683 CE), Jagatsinghji remained almost continuously in the south. At times, he stayed in Aurangabad, and at other times, he resided in Burhanpur. He also occasionally visited Jahangabad. Jagatsinghji had a mansion in Aurangabad, and there was likely one in Burhanpur as well. During this period, he visited Kota from the south at least once. In Burhanpur, Jagatsinghji donated an elephant to a consecrated Brahmin, whose name was 'Gajganesh'. On Kartik Sudi 9 of Samvat 1738, he gifted 27 mohar (coins) to Shahzada Muhammad Azim and 18 mohras to his wife. Mohras were also given to the Shahzada's attendants and his officer, Azgar Khan. In Samvat 1738, Jagatsinghji presented an elephant to Nawab Sarbuland Khan of Aurangabad and Nawab Bahadur Khan of Jahangabad. On this

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291 (i) Munshi Moolchand, pp. 111-12.
(ii) Waqa-e-Niyamatkha Aali

292 Tod: Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 554

occasion, he purchased an elephant for 275 rupees in Aurangabad. Jagatsinghji maintained a good relationship with the Nawabs of both Aurangabad and Jahangabad. He arranged for the treasure of Nawab Bahadur Khan to be transported by camels to Aurangabad. This order was issued from his mansion in Aurangabad to the officials in Kota. While traveling to Aurangabad, Jagatsinghji donated elephants, horses, camels, and cows to Brahmins along the way. Each cow was accompanied by a mohr as a donation. On the route, in Balud, he bought jewelry worth 20,000 rupees from jewelers Saubhag Chand and Motichand, and a letter was issued in the name of Kota officials to pay the price. A few days before his death, Jagatsinghji purchased a large amount of cloth in Aurangabad. On Assoj Sudi 1 of Samvat 1740, he employed a servant named Hussain in Aurangabad, who had been guaranteed by a Muslim nobleman. The beginning of the bond states: "Barsarakar Jagatsingh Hada."[293] These references clearly indicate that Jagatsinghji lived in Aurangabad for several years. The Maratha attack on this city occurred in Samvat 1738, and in Burhanpur in Samvat 1737. During these years, Jagatsinghji stayed in both Burhanpur and Aurangabad. At this time, Shivaji Maharaj had passed away, and Sambhaji was ruling. Around Samvat 1740, Aurangzeb began the war with even greater preparations and strength. At this time, the royal army also attacked the Bijapur state.[294] On Kartik Shukla Panchami of this year, Jagatsinghji passed away.[295] It is likely that he was killed in a battle near Aurangabad and Burhanpur – most probably during the battle in Hyderabad, while fighting Sheikh Minhaj.

Valor similar to Madhosinghji's – Madhosinghji first fought against Malik Ambar in the south at the age of fourteen, alongside his father Rao waratan. Jagatsinghji, at around 15 years of age, was stationed in the battlefields of Khajuha by Aurangzeb as part of the vanguard. On that occasion, he displayed bravery typical of a Kshatriya and

[293] Documents from Samvat 1738 and 1740, under the category *Sīgha Mutafarriqāt* 4

[294] Sir J. N. Sarkar: History of Morangzeb, Vol. 4, pp. 247, 258-62.

[295] Document Samvat 1740, Siga Mutafarriqat

amazed Aurangzeb. He also attempted to convince Aurangzeb of his loyalty by not supporting Jaswant Singh, but Aurangzeb, despite his father Jahangir and grandfather's legacy, remained distant from him. Aurangzeb was different from Jahangir and Shahjahan had not learned to admire the bravery of Hindus or reward it accordingly. Burhanpur and Aurangabad had been the stage of unparalleled valor displayed by Jagatsinghji's ancestors. It was there that Raoratan and Madhosinghji had defeated Khurram to protect the throne of Delhi. For Jagatsinghji, laying down his life in battle in the same region was a matter of great honor.

Central Administration – Gaur Jagatsinghji, who was the royal minister during the reign of Mukundsinghji, held the position of royal minister for some years during Jagatsinghji's rule as well, after which Udayram was appointed to this post. At the time, the royal minister was known as the "Pradhan" and was the highest-ranking official in the state. Along with the minister, there were Thakurs, Chaudharis, and Hawalgirs who assisted in governance. The officials of the districts were also called Chaudharis and Hawalgirs, but their powers were limited, whereas those Chaudharis and others who worked with the Pradhan were more powerful and had rights just slightly less than the Pradhan. Orders issued by the royal court were signed by the Pradhan and all associated officials. The decree would begin as follows -

> ''Amal Sarkar Maharajadhiraj Shri Jagatsinghji Dev Pradhan Raj Shri Udayramji Thakur Shri Dwarkadas Chaudhary Ranchhoddasji, Ahatmal Hawalgir Anupsinghji

This makes it clear that the governance was considered a collective responsibility of all the aforementioned officials. The administration of the districts remained as before. In some grants, it was mentioned as "Vidyaman Raj Shri Udayramji." During Jagatsinghji's time, the Dhabhai community was also quite influential. After Samvat 1730, a member of the Dhabhai community was included in the council of ministers. Perhaps this was the reason for their increasing influence, and several

plots of land were granted to Dhabhai women as tax-free estates.

Political Status - Jagatsinghji did not enjoy as much prestige in the Mughal court as Madhosinghji and Mukundsinghji did. This was because Mukundsinghji had fought valiantly against Aurangzeb and had tried to personally attack Aurangzeb with all his might. Aurangzeb, for his own benefit, did summon Jagatsinghji to Delhi and pardoned him, but granted him a Mansab (rank) of only 2,000. Despite witnessing Jagatsinghji's extraordinary bravery and unwavering loyalty at the age of 15 in the Battle of Khajuha, Aurangzeb did not give him any special recognition. While sending Jagatsinghji to the south, Aurangzeb had returned the Mau Maidan region to him, but a significant portion of its revenue was deposited into the imperial treasury, leaving Kota State with only a nominal benefit. Due to Mukundsinghji's opposition and Aurangzeb's religious bias, it seems Aurangzeb harbored lingering resentment towards Jagatsinghji. This is likely why Jagatsinghji made efforts to please the prince and the governors of Aurangabad and Jehanabad through gifts and offerings. On one occasion, the imperial army also passed through Kota State, during which 20 S *maunds* of ghee were consumed in hosting them.[296]

State treasury (Rajkosh) - When Jagatsinghji ascended the throne, the state treasury (Rajkosh) situation was pitiable. Though loans were taken from Nandwana Bohra moneylenders even during the times of Madhosinghji and Mukundsinghji, and village revenues were mortgaged to manage finances, the economic problem had never become dire due to the emperor's favor and the income from mansab (a rank or office in the Mughal administrative system).

When Jagatsinghji ascended the throne, a large portion of the army had been destroyed in the Dharamat war. There was fear of Aurangzeb possibly deploying an army against the fort. Funds were needed to gain favor with the high imperial officials. Jagatsinghji was granted a mansab of only 2,000,

[296] Document Samvat 1738, Siga Mutafarriqat.

generating an annual income of approximately two lakh rupees. For participation in the battles of Khajuha and the Deccan, as well as for defending the kingdom afterward, an even larger army was needed. All these factors compounded the economic problem into a severe crisis.

Barad and Chauthan - A year after ascending the throne, penalties amounting to 1,853 rupees were collected from the inhabitants of the Madhukargarh and Ghatoli parganas. It appears that this was not a penalty but a tax or *Barad* imposed to resolve the financial difficulties during the coronation period. This tax was likely collected not just from these two parganas but from the entire kingdom. At that time, state employees received their salaries every two months, with one-fourth of their pay deducted as a royal tax (Raj Kar). A similar tax was imposed on jagirdars (landholders), with strict orders for its collection. This tax was called *Chauthan*.[297]

Bhom Hasil (Land Revenue) - Land revenue, or *Bhom Hasil*, was collected in two forms: Khalsa and Jagir. Revenue from Khalsa lands was collected through a share of the crop (*batai*) or as a fixed levy (*latai*). The grains thus collected were sold, and the money was deposited in the treasury. Unsold grains were stored in the special granaries (*khai khas*) of the parganas, and accounts for these were sent to the capital. Taxes from jagirdars (feudal landholders) were collected in cash. If a jagirdar was absent, cash payments were taken for the period of absence. This payment was considered a type of debt owed by the jagirdar, which sometimes accumulated over several years.[298]

Expenditure and Budget - Pargana officers had the authority to spend from the pargana's income according to the annual budget. After expenses, any surplus was sent to the treasury at the fort. Records of income and expenditure were maintained in the pargana offices and sent annually to the

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[297] Documents dated 1716, 1722, Siga Mutafarrikat.

[298] Documents from Samvat 1730 and 1736, Miscellaneous Section.

fort.[299] An annual budget was prepared each year. A document from Samvat 1737 provides a glimpse into a portion of the budget. Although the document is torn and does not provide all figures, the surviving details are intriguing:

Charity (Punyarth): ₹1,083
Royal Court (Dargahi): ₹96,021
Hajuri Salaries: ₹1,12,280
Public and State Works (Mahalahit, Rajalok): ₹5,670
Workshops (Karkhana): ₹27,248
Debt to Bohra Moneylenders: ₹27,248
Domestic Expenditure**:** ₹24,226

Other heads of expenditure, like *Attala Mahakma* and *Ambar Mahakma*, are missing due to the torn document. Had the document been intact, it would have revealed more about the categories of expenses during that period.[300]

Baran and Mau Parganas - For his bravery in battles at Balkh and Badakhshan, Madhosinghji had been granted the parganas of Baran and Mau. However, when Aurangzeb and Murad advanced northward, the Emperor Shajahan sent Bundi ruler Shatrushalji to assist Dara. As Shatrushalji departed, these territories were taken back from Rao Mukundsinghji and returned to Shatrushalji.[301] Shatrushalji later died heroically in the Battle of Samugarh. After his death, Bhavsinghji ascended the throne of Bundi. Aurangzeb, displeased with Bhavsinghji due to his father, favored Bhavsinghji's younger brother, Bhagwantsinghji, who had already allied with him. After ascending the throne, Aurangzeb took away Baran and Mau from Bhavsinghji and granted them to Bhagwantsinghji, giving him a mansab of 2,500 horsemen and appointing him as the ruler of Mau.[302]

Bhagwantsinghji passed away.[303] Following his death, Aurangzeb did not return these parganas to the Bundi rulers but instead granted them to Jagatsinghji as *mukata* (revenue-

[299] Documents from Samvat 1730, Income and Expenditure, Miscellaneous Section
[300] Deposit Samvat 1736 and 1734, Siga Mutafarriqat.
[301] Vanshaprakash, p. 137.
[302] Vanshaprakash, p.139.
[303] Vansh Prakash, p. 141.

sharing grant).[304] Government records confirm that in Samvat 1730, the Mau pargana was under Jagatsinghji's control. That year, the Mau pargana generated an income of ₹4,66,000, out of which ₹3,55,000 had to be deposited in the imperial treasury. This amount was transported on camels to Agra, Jehanabad, or wherever it was summoned.

Additionally, significant expenses were incurred from this pargana for hosting the Nawab of Malwa. This pargana was newly integrated into the Kota state and comprised around 1,000 villages, including major towns like Jalwara, Awan, Iklehra, Khanpur, and Harigarh. Approximately ₹19,000 were spent on the *chauntra*, or the pargana court, as a large administrative force was required to maintain order and control over the newly acquired parganas. Although Aurangzeb granted Mau pargana to Jagatsinghji as a token of recognition for his extraordinary bravery in the Battle of Khajwa, it highlights Aurangzeb’s lack of generosity, as the pargana yielded Jagatsinghji only nominal benefits.

The administration of this pargana was very systematic and of a high standard. Officials such as Chaudhary, *Fotedar*, *Karkun*, *Hawalagir*, *Bakshi*, and *Jakati* were appointed at the government headquarters. The *Kotwali Chabutra* (police station headquarters) was separate but subordinate to the pargana headquarters. Various expenses under categories like charity (*Punyarth*), granary (*Ambar*), building repairs (*Marammat Makanaat*), purchases, horses, camels, shoeing nails (*Nal Bandhai*), and others were meticulously managed and were included in the annual budget of the pargana. Most of the Ahalkars (Government workers) were Kayasthas. The Muslims and the Rajputs were among the riders and sepoys.[305]

Economic condition - During Jagatsinghji's reign, essential commodities were as inexpensive as they had been during Mukundsinghji's time. Ghee was available at over 5 ser per rupee,[306] but clothing was expensive. In Samvat 1722, the

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[304] Document Samvat 1730, Siga Mutafarriqat.
[305] Deposit Samvat 1730, Siga Mutafarriqat.
[306] Document Samvat 1738.

price of 60 rolls of khadi was recorded at ₹360,[307] meaning each roll cost ₹6, which was many times higher than current prices.Most people wore khadi during that time, but wealthy families extensively used finer fabrics, which were mostly locally produced. However, some fabrics were also imported from Iran and Europe. In Samvat 1739, Jagatsinghji purchased several thousand rupees worth of clothing in Aurangabad. The following list gives insight into the tastes, prices, and types of fabrics popular at the time:

Velvet with golden floral patterns (*Makhmal Boontadar Sunahri Jhalar*).
Embroidered caps (*Topi Boontadar*).
Veils (*Burka*).
Satin curtains with shaded patterns (*Parda Atlas Chhayadar*).
Silk dhotis (*Dhoti Reshmi*).
Dhotis made of fine cotton (*Dhoti Paat Ki*).
Embroidered Pashmina for the throne (*Pashmina Boontadar Takht Ke Vaste*).
Pairs of socks (*Moja Jodi*).

Clothing Items and Costs

Fine striped fabric with zari work (*Cheera Zari Ka*).
Rolls of lehenga fabric with floral embroidery (*Thaan Lehenga Ko Boontadar*) in red, white, green, and pink.
Shimmering fabric (*Thaan Jhalmal*).
Chikan-worked fabric (*Cheera Chikan Ka*).
Rolls of patterned muslin (*Muthda Ko Thaan*).
Fabric with floral designs (*Gendadar Thaan*).
Rolls of zari-embroidered fabric (*Zariboota Ko Thaan*).
Satin in green and red, 30 yards for ₹43.
Red zari sarees at ₹55 each.
Dupatta priced at ₹40.
Quilts priced at ₹27 each.
Zari-brocaded fabric (*Zar Baft*).
Lightweight fabric (*Darai*).
Cotton fabric (*Amri*), 5 rolls for ₹20.
Velvet, 22 yards for ₹96.

[307] Document Samvat 1722.

Chikan-embroidered fabric (*Mahmoodi Chikan*), 4 rolls for ₹150.
Woolen quilt (*Rajai Shaal Ki*), ₹72.
Fine muslin (*Shree Saak*).
Patterned muslin (*Masru Boontidar*).
Embroidered fabric (*Ilaicha*).
Printed cloth from Multan (*Cheent Multan Ki*).
Chikan fabric (*Masru Chikan Ki*).
Chanderi fabric (*Mahmoodi Chanderi*).

This list shows that high-quality clothing was available for both men and women at that time. Muslin rolls (*Muthda*) were likely crafted from Dhaka's fine muslin. A roll of zari fabric for women's kurtas cost ₹8 per yard. Wealthy women wore zari sarees, zari kurtas, and lehengas made of embroidered fabric in various colors. Women's clothing also included ₹50 zari pants (*Suthan*) and burqas purchased for *Khawasji*, indicating that a Muslim woman was in Jagatsinghji's service.[308]

Household Items and Fashion - In addition to utensils made of copper, brass, silver, and gold, wealthy households used dishes made of stone, porcelain, and glass. Crystal bowls were fashionable among the affluent.

Labor and Transportation - To transport treasury money from Mau to Jehanabad, camels were rented at ₹20 per camel, indicating that labor was not particularly cheap at the time. Officials or messengers (*Ahadi* and *Gurjbardar*) sent by the emperor or provincial governors to demand tribute were rewarded with ₹2 to ₹4.

Economic Observations - Due to a shortage of funds in the royal treasury, loans were borrowed from wealthy subjects at an annual interest rate of 12%. However, the general populace's economic condition was not strong either.[309] Apart from Rajputs, jagirdars included people from other

[308] Papers Samvat 1740, 1739, 1734
[309] Rojnamcha Bhadwa Samvat 1740, Seega Mutfarrrikat.

communities. Despite the limited treasury, rewards were distributed generously.

Land Grants - In Samvat 1722, 60S bighas of land were gifted to Babar for constructing fortifications, reflecting the court's largesse (1 bigha = 1,618 square meters [(0.4 acres]). It is important to note the local context when converting bigha into standard units, as the size can vary significantly.). Land was granted as gifts to the daughters of the Dhabhai and high-ranking officials. Even the son of a cart driver was given a bakhshish (gift) of ₹20 for his wedding.[310] The prices of elephants, horses, and cows have already been mentioned earlier.

Royal Life - It is not clear how many wives Jagatsinghji had. After his death, two queens became Sati. [311] Documents from Samvat 1720 also mention six of his khawas (female attendants).[312]

Jagatsinghji's Character - Jagatsinghji's ability to rule successfully at the age of 14 under the cruel and biased regime of Aurangzeb is a testament to his wisdom. When he ascended the throne, the situation was dire—his family was almost destroyed, there was opposition from the emperor, the army had been decimated, and the royal treasury was empty. During such a challenging time, remaining patient, standing firm against Aurangzeb, and not being swayed by the schemes of Jaswantsinghji was a display of remarkable courage and strong character for someone so young. His perseverance and courage helped him regain the territories of Mau and Baran from the emperor.

He was also known for his generosity, even in times of financial hardship. He would donate elephants, horses, and cows, and often gave mohar (coins) as charity. During times of famine, he provided relief and, in Samvat 1738, when there was a scarcity, he granted appropriate concessions to those in

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[310] Document Samvat 1722, Siga Mutafarriqat.

[311] Thakur Lakshmanadan.

[312] Documents Samvat 1720, Fahrlist Jewarat.

need. When the village was looted by dacoits, the villagers were satisfactorily compensated with adequate assistance from the royal treasury.

Pem Singhji-Jagatsinghji had no children. It is said that Mohansinghji and Jujharsinghji did not acquire the throne, so the fort of Koyla was handed over to Aap Pem singhji, who was the son of Kanhiramji, who had died in the battle of Dharma. Pemsinghji was not suitable for ruling, and the time was under Aurangzeb. To conceal his incompetence, Pemsinghji managed to stay in power by paying millions of rupees to Aurangzeb's influential courtiers, but how long could this tactic work? Within a year, the administration became lax, and devastation was seen everywhere. Therefore, during the occasion of Dussehra, when all the officers gathered, it was decided that he would be removed from the throne. Pemsinghji could not even sit on the throne for a year, and on the day of Kartika Shukla Dvitiya, Samvat 1741, Kishoresinghji was crowned, and Pemsinghji was sent back to Koyla.[313]

[313] Thakur Lakshmanadan.



Rao Kishoresinghji
(1741 - 1752 Vikram Samvat)

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Rao Kishoresinghji

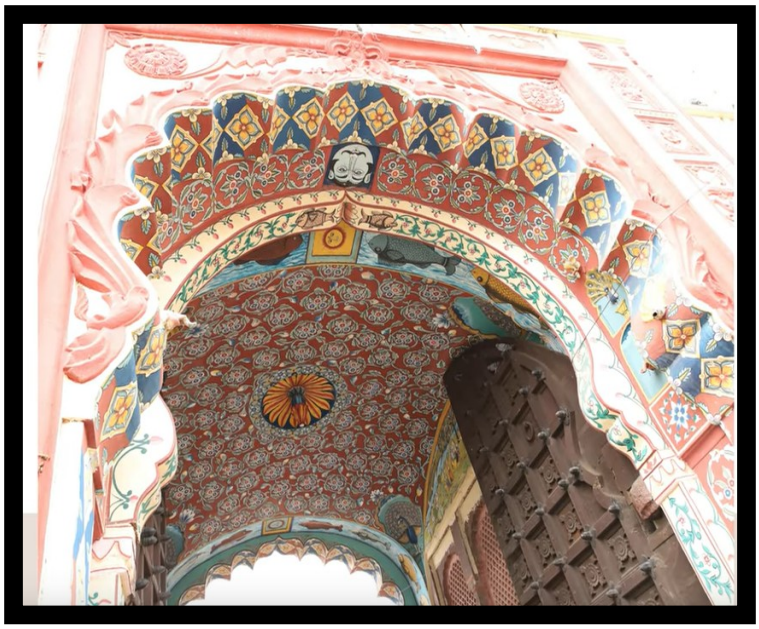


Ruins of Kishoreganj, Dara, Kota
Located on the Dara-Kanwas road, the ruins of Kishoreeganj mark the site of a palace that was built by Rao Kishoresinghji of Kota State in the 17th century.



ChandKheri Jain Temple- *Samvat* 1746

In the year *Samvat* 1746, a wealthy Bagherwal Jain merchant began the construction of a temple dedicated to Lord Mahavira in Chandkhedi village near Khanpur



Kishoreepura Gate

This gate was constructed around 1635–36 CE by Rao Madhosingh Ji, the first independent ruler of Kota State, during the building of the first city wall (Shahar Panah) of old Kota. At that time, the gate was known as Bhilwadi Pol. However, when Rao Kishoree Singh I ascended the throne of Kota State (from 1684 to 1696 CE), he established the Kishorepura neighborhood, and the gate was subsequently named Kishorepura Gate.

Rao Kishoresinghji

(1684-1696 CE)

Early Life - Kishoresinghji was the youngest son of Rao Madhosinghji, who received the jagir of Sangod comprising 24 villages from his father.[314] During the reign of Shahjahan,he held a mansab (rank) of 400 and participated in the Balkh-Badakhshan campaign alongside his father.[315] During the reign of his brother, Mukundsinghji, he also served with the royal army in the sieges of Kandahar.[316] In the Battle of Dharmat, Kishoresinghji, along with his brothers, fought against Aurangzeb. He fell unconscious on the battlefield due to multiple wounds. His companions, hoping to save his life, carried him away from the battlefield. Fortunately, with treatment, he recovered.

The Young Woman's Remedy - A fascinating legend surrounds his recovery. It is said that after being severely wounded and brought back to his camp in an unconscious state during the Battle of Dharmat, Kishoresinghji showed only faint signs of life, and his survival seemed unlikely. Skilled physicians suggested an unconventional remedy: the presence and touch of a young woman might help revive him from his comatose state. At that time, a Doda Rajput chieftain agreed to send his young daughter to Kishoresinghji under the condition that, upon his recovery, she would marry him. Her touch revived Kishoresinghji from his unconscious state, and she stayed by his side. However, due to societal norms and Brahmin opposition, the woman was not accepted as his lawful wife. The reason given was that she had touched Kishoresinghji before the formal wedding rituals were performed. The descendants of the son born to this woman are said to be associated with the jagirdars of Kamolar.

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[314] Thakur Lakshmandan Ji.
[315] Munshi Moolchand, Page 96
[316] Above-mentioned, Page 115

On the Battlefield of Khajwa - Eight months after the Battle of Dharmat,[317] Kishoresinghji fought on Aurangzeb's side against Shah Shuja in the Battle of Khajwa. He fought valiantly at the forefront of the battle. When Jaswantsinghji betrayed Aurangzeb by plundering his camp and fleeing, Kishoresinghji remained loyal and continued to support Aurangzeb. During this battle, Kishoresinghji fought alongside Rao Jagatsinghji but also served as an independent mansabdar in the Mughal army.[318]

Campaigns in South - Both Jagatsinghji and Kishoresinghji were assigned by Aurangzeb to fight in the Deccan against the Marathas, as well as the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda. However, as a precaution, Aurangzeb ensured that the two were not stationed at the same location. Kishoresinghji was deployed in the campaign against Bijapur, while Jagatsinghji was tasked with suppressing the Marathas in Burhanpur and Aurangabad. The Hada Rajputs had never betrayed any emperor, but Aurangzeb was so deceitful, untrustworthy, and diplomatic that he did not consider it beneficial to appoint Kishoresinghji and Jagatsinghji at the same place.

At the time of Jagatsinghji's death – During the Hyderabad battle in Kartik month of Samvat 1740, when Jagatsinghji possibly fell while fiercely fighting against Sheikh Minhaj, Kishoresinghji was engaged in the battles of Bijapur. He could not come to Kota even to mourn the demise of his sovereign and nephew, Jagatsinghji. By this time, Kishoresinghji had been granted a mansab of 1,000, and due to his valor and steadfast loyalty, even a staunch emperor like Aurangzeb had started to place some trust in him. In such a situation, Kishoresinghji might not have deemed it appropriate to request leave from Aurangzeb to come to Kota, or perhaps, he was not granted leave at all.

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317 (i) Battle of Dharmat on 15 April 1658.
(ii) Battle of Khajuha, 3 January 1659.

318 Alamgir Nama, pp. 245-50.

Why was Pemsinghji given the throne? – Jagatsinghji did not have any sons. Therefore, upon his demise, the question arose as to who would inherit the throne. Prima facie, in such a situation, the rightful heir to the throne would have been Mohansinghji of Palayatha. Mohansinghji was a renowned chieftain, known for his achievements in the royal court and on the battlefield. However, why he was not given the throne of Kota remains unclear. Here is a legend suggesting that Palayatha's estate was quite large at the time and there was no younger brother to claim it, but this explanation does not seem entirely plausible. While it is true that Palayatha was significant, and the term "Kota-Palayatha" was commonly used in conversation at that time, even Shahjahan's royal decree referred to the Kota state by the same name. Although Palayatha was large, it was still not bigger than the Kota state, and despite Mohansinghji being illustrious and famous, he was not on par with Mukundsinghji. It is assumed that at that time, there might have been a minor estate holder at Palayatha, which is why he was not deemed worthy of the throne. Similarly, for some reason, the descendants of Jujharsinghji were also deprived of the throne. During that time, Aurangzeb was extremely busy with wars in the south and had no time to consider matters related to the Kota throne. It seems that the officials of Kota, through some intrigue, had placed Pemsinghji on the throne. As a result, his position became precarious due to his incompetence and opposition from other factions. Since he did not receive a royal decree, the nobles of Kota removed him from the throne.[319]

Why did Kishoresinghji get the throne? – On one hand, Pemsinghji had proven to be incompetent, and on the other hand, Kishoresinghji had proven his valor and steadfastness in several battles, becoming a favored and trusted ally of Aurangzeb. By this time, he was only a mansabdar of 1,000. Seeing his valor, Aurangzeb wished to reward him. The incompetence of Pemsinghji presented an opportune moment for this, and Aurangzeb, through a royal

[319] Vanshabhaskara, Part III, p. 2889.

robe (khilat) and decree, sent Kishoresinghji to Kota from the south to ascend his father's throne.[320]

Coronation and Return to the South – Kishoresinghji earned fame among the Rajputs for his valor in several battles and gained respect in the imperial court. He was indeed worthy of the throne of Kota. His ascension to the throne brought satisfaction to the nobles of the state and enhanced the glory of the Kota royal family. At that time, Aurangzeb was deeply involved in the wars in the South, which prevented Kishoresinghji from spending much time in Kota. As soon as the coronation celebrations concluded, he returned to the South to participate in the ongoing wars.

Bishansinghji Refused to Join - Kishoresinghji had four sons: Bishansinghji, Ramsinghji, Arjunsinghji, and Harnathsinghji. As Kishoresinghji was preparing to go to the South, he wanted his son Bishansinghji to accompany him. However, Bishansinghji refused to go, at the insistence of his mother.[321] This refusal angered Kishoresinghji, and he disinherited Bishansinghji. Instead, he acknowledged Ramsinghji as his eldest son (in the form of royal right) and took him to the South for battle.Bishansinghji was then considered less right worthy and was eventually granted a jagir of Anta.[322]

Constantly in the Battlefield - Kishoresinghji ruled from Samvat 1741 to 1752, a period of 12 years. During this time, he returned to Kota a few times, but he was mostly engaged in battles. In south and after showing amazing valor in many battles, he finally attained martyrdom in the battlefield.

Ramsinghji's Role and Return to Kota - Ramsinghji was granted a mansab of 1,000, but he did not remain with his

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[320] Vanshabhaskara, Part III, p. 2889.
[321] Document Samvat 1746, Taksim
[322] (i) Thakur Lakshmanadan.
(ii). Tod: Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 554.

father continuously in the South. After participating in the wars in the South for three years, from Samvat 1741 to the beginning of 1744, he returned to Kota. Kishoresinghji's other sons were also small mansabdars, and they stayed with their father in the South.[323]

Kishoresinghji in Mewar – When Rathore Durgadasji waged the freedom struggle on behalf of Maharaja Ajitsinghji of Jodhpur and Aurangzeb himself made his mark in Ajmer considering the situation to be frightening, Kishoresinghji was with the royal army. He must have fought against both Jodhpur and Mewar. Finally, after the revolt of Prince Akbar, in the month of Chaitra in the month of Samvat 1737, the talks of reconciliation between the emperor and the Maharana began. The day of the meeting of Maharana and Prince Azam was fixed. At that time, Kishoresinghji was appointed by the emperor to welcome the Maharana. Kishoresinghji was present at the meeting which took place on Shravan Budi 3 Samvat 1737 (24 June 1681 CE).[324]

In Bijapur – Kishoresinghji left the battle of Bijapur and came to Kota and joined there again. The siege of Bijapur continued for many years. Kishoresinghji along with Ramsinghji were in Bijapur war. Aurangzeb was very pleased with him for doing many valiant deeds. He was often given huge prizes, elephants, horses, jewels and toys. The emperor was so convinced of them that he held them in greater esteem than the Muslim mansabdars of his equals. In September 1685 CE, Aurangzeb took control of the Bijapur fort. When the emperor entered the fort gleefully, Kishoresinghji was with him.Kishoresinghji was again given a gift, elephants, horses and jewels in victory celebration.[325]

Victory at Ibrahimgarh - After the conquest of Bijapur, Aurangzeb sent a force under the leadership of Firozjang Bahadur to besiege Ibrahimgarh, and Kishoresinghji was also

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[323] Document Samvat 1747, Calculation of Mansab.
[324] Ojha: History of Rajputana, Part III, p. 897
[325] Niamat Khan 'Aali'.

sent with this army. The siege of the fort was successful within a few days, and Aurangzeb's forces established control over the fort. After making proper arrangements for the fort's defense, Firozjang Bahadur withdrew from there and joined Aurangzeb's army. Kishoresinghji fought with great determination and bravery during the siege of Ibrahimgarh.[326]

Siege of Hyderabad - In January 1686 CE, Firozjang and Kishoresinghji joined the imperial army. At that time, Aurangzeb's camp was not far from Hyderabad. Two days later, the siege began. Both sides displayed remarkable valor and extraordinary martial skills in the battle. The royal army continuously attempted to blow up the fort’s walls by digging tunnels. However, as soon as the defenders detected the tunnels, they would fill them with water. The siege of this fort had been ongoing for several years, but the royal army had not achieved success. Therefore, Aurangzeb himself arrived to conduct the battle. Kishoresinghji could not have asked for a better opportunity or place to demonstrate his bravery. The siege continued for a long time, and the imperial army faced increasing difficulties, including famine and disease, which ravaged the forces. Thousands of soldiers succumbed to hunger and illness. However, Aurangzeb was not one to be deterred by difficulties. He steadfastly maintained the siege. Kishoresinghji continued to support him without wavering. Eventually, Aurangzeb and the fort's commander, Abdul Razzaq Khan Lasani, grew weary of the endless siege and decided to engage in open combat. For Kishoresinghji, the battlefield became a stage for valor. He joyfully joined Aurangzeb in the battle. With unyielding patience and courage, Aurangzeb took the lead in the center, riding on an elephant, directing the army. After a long battle, victory finally favored Aurangzeb. In this battle, Kishoresinghji once again showcased his innate bravery.[327]

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[326] Mentioned Above

[327] Niamat Khan 'Aali'.

Maratha Wars - After defeating Bijapur and Golconda, Aurangzeb resolved to suppress the Marathas. From 1688 CE to 1695 CE, he focused on subjugating Maharashtra.

The Maratha Wars and Key Victories - For a long period, Kishoresinghji fought against the Marathas, sometimes alongside Aurangzeb and sometimes with the royal commander Zulfikar Khan. During this time, he also had to travel to Mathura to suppress the Jat uprising and to Malwa to quell the rebellion of Pahadsingh Gaud.

Victory at Raigarh - In 1689 CE, Aurangzeb's campaign was highly successful. During this year, Sambhaji was captured and brutally executed. Following that, the siege of Raigarh began. The Marathas fiercely defended the fort for some time, but ultimately, they had to surrender on the Margashirsha, Krishna 6th of Samvat 1747 (Chikram). Sambhaji's entire family was arrested. In this siege, Kishoresinghji also fought alongside Aurangzeb.[328]

Siege of Basantgarh — Around the same time, on November 22, the royal army laid siege to Basantgarh. Kishoresinghji, along with many Rajput soldiers, participated in the siege. The fort had only a small number of Maratha soldiers, while the royal army had made extensive preparations for the siege. Consequently, the Marathas could only defend the fort for three days. On November 25, the royal army took control of the fort and hoisted Aurangzeb's flag. Three months later, another battle took place near the fort against the Marathas, in which Kishoresinghji displayed great bravery as well.[329] Similarly, there was a war in Bhavnagar which Kishoresinghji also performed an act of valour.[330]

War with the Jats — Due to Aurangzeb’s prolonged involvement in battles in the south, several rumors began to

[328] (i) Sir J.N. Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, p. 7.
(ii) Document Samvat 1747, Siga Mutafarriqat.
[329] (i) Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, p. 15.
(ii) Document Samvat 1747, Siga Mutafarriqat.
[330] Document Samvat 1747.

spread in northern India. Some claimed, "The royal army is losing," while others said, "The emperor is dead." Continuous shipments of troops and resources from Delhi to the south seemed to confirm these rumors. As a result, the governance of northern India became weak, and disturbances started occurring in various regions. Taking advantage of this situation, under the leadership of Rajaram, the Jats began to cause unrest. They organized themselves, formed an army, and started defying Mughal rule.

The Subedar of Agra, witnessing these disturbances, was unable to act against them. In 1686 CE, Aurangzeb sent Azam to suppress the Jats, but he called him back and appointed Shahzada Bedar Bakhsh for the task. In July 1688 CE, a fierce battle took place in which Rajaram was killed, but the Jat power was not destroyed. Rawa Raja Aniruddhsinghji of Bundi and Kishoresinghji of Kota, along with several of their jagirdars, participated in this battle.[331] Rawa Raja Aniruddhsinghji fled the battle, but Kishoresinghji remained steadfast and fought valiantly. Not only that, but when he saw Aniruddhsinghji retreating from the battlefield, he felt great shame. He could not bear the thought that a prominent Hada leader like the Bundi ruler would tarnish the glorious reputation of the Hada clan by withdrawing from the battlefield. Seeing this, the Umraos of Kota, including Rajgarh jagirdar Gorakhdansinghji, went towards Aniruddhsinghji, blocking his path and urging him to return to the battlefield and fight steadfastly. However, Aniruddhsinghji lacked the courage to turn back. Eventually, Gorakhdansinghji took the Bundi ruler’s turban (crown), with his Chawar Bardar, (trusted attendant) continued fighting. This gave both the allies and the opposition the impression that Aniruddhsinghji was still fighting. The Kota ruler and his companions continued to fight

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[331] (i)In *Vanshbhaskar*, this battle is mentioned as occurring in Samvat 1746, which
matches exactly with the date given in *Fatuhat-e-Alamgiri* (by Isardas Nagar).
Sir J.N. Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, p. 299.
(ii). E. & D., Vol. 7, p. 198.

with great courage and valor. In the end, victory went to Bedar Bakhth.[332]

Kishoresinghji was wounded – During this battle, Kishoresinghji received 27 wounds, and his elephant and horse were killed. Kishoresinghji himself remained unconscious for a long time. In this conflict, several brave nobles of Kota, including Rao Ratan Tejsinghji of Ghati, Goradhansinghji of Rajgarh, Kunwar Ghasiramji of Genta, Thakur Sujansinghji of Panahera, and Thakur Rajsinghji of Taraj, achieved martyrdom. Sir Jadunath Sarkar wrote that Aniruddhsinghji fled while fighting Shahabad's Subedar of Malwa, Pahadsingh Gaud. However, Pahadsingh's battle occurred in 1685 CE, whereas the battle against Rajaram Jat took place in 1688 CE. It seems likely that Aniruddhsinghji fled during both conflicts — against Rajaram Jat and Pahadsingh. Thakur Lakshmandan mentioned that the royal army fighting against Rajaram was led by Azam, which is incorrect. Initially, Azam was given this responsibility, but he was later recalled, and his son Bedar Bakht was appointed to lead the forces.[333]

In Karnatak - There is a legend in Kota that Kishoresinghji attained martyrdom while fighting in the south. Colonel Tod wrote that he died falling from the walls of the Arcot Fort. Tod recorded his death as occurring in Samvat 1742, which is an error.[334] Records confirm that Kishoresinghji fought in the sieges of Raigarh and Basantgarh in Samvat 1747 and passed away in Samvat 1752.

The exact location of Kishoresinghji's demise is not explicitly mentioned, but contemporary Persian chronicles establish that his death occurred in Arcot. It seems likely that after the 1689 CE campaign, Kishoresinghji was assigned to serve alongside Zulfiqar Khan. In 1695 CE, when Zulfiqar

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[332] (i) -*Thakur Lakshmandan*
(ii) *Vanshbhaskar, Third part , Page ,2887,2888, 2890 Appendicx 24*

[333] (i) Vanshabhaskara, Part III, p. 2886.
(ii). Khafikhan, pp. 316, 395.
(iii) Maasir Alamgiri, 298, 311.

[334] Tod: Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 554.

Khan laid siege to the fort of Gingee in Carnatic, Kishoresinghji was with him. At that time, Aurangzeb was around 80 years old, and daily rumors circulated about his death. Zulfiqar Khan, therefore, did not commit wholeheartedly to the battle and seemed to be waiting for the emperor's death. He anticipated that Aurangzeb's passing would lead to conflict among the princes for the throne, resulting in widespread unrest and chaos across the empire. Zulfiqar Khan believed this would provide an opportunity to establish his independent rule. This sentiment was echoed by the French in Pondicherry and the English in Madras, and even by Bhimsen Kayastha, who surmised the same.[335]

In October 1694 CE, Zulfiqar Khan camped near Changaman Fort, 42 miles from Gingee. Here, he and his forces faced significant harassment from the Marathas, who were persistently attacked by Zulfiqar Khan. Despite this, Zulfiqar Khan's indifference became increasingly evident. Kishoresinghji realized that Zulfiqar Khan's loyalty to the emperor had waned and that he was deliberately avoiding proper military engagement, effectively betraying the emperor.

Anger at Zulfiqar Khan - How could Kishoresinghji tolerate Zulfiqar Khan’s deception? He was steadfast in his promises. He was less concerned about victory or defeat and more focused on fulfilling his commitments. Being resolute was an inherent virtue in his lineage. Madhosinghji, Mukundsinghji, and Jagatsinghji had all devoted themselves to supporting the Mughal emperors, actively suppressing the empire’s enemies, and Kota's rulers had always taken the lead in such efforts. Jujhar Singh, Khan Jahan Lodi, Khurram, and even Aurangzeb had experienced the blows of the Hada warriors during their rebellions. Therefore, when Kishoresinghji noticed that Zulfiqar Khan was feigning engagement in battle rather than genuinely fighting, his blood boiled with anger. He considered capturing Zulfiqar Khan, just as his ancestors, like Madhosinghji, had captured Khurram,

[335] (i)Sir J.N.Sarkar: *History of Aurangzeb*, Volume 5, Pages 100-101.
(ii) Bhimsen Kayastha: Author of *Nuskha-e-Dilkash*

and sending him bound in chains to serve the emperor.[336] It seems that observing this stance from Kishoresinghji and his allies—Dalpat Rai Bundela and Daud Khan—prompted Zulfiqar Khan to take notice. He became alert and began to wage battle with genuine intent. In October of that year, he laid siege to Vellore, but by early December, Zulfiqar Khan received alarming news that unsettled him.

Dhana Jadhav – After Sambhaji's execution, the Mughal occupation of Raigad, and Rajaram's retreat to the distant south, many began to believe that the Maratha power had come to an end. However, this was not the case. As adversities intensified, the Marathas, like gold in a blazing fire, emerged more refined and resilient. At a time when the entire Maratha region and its people appeared without leadership, two extraordinary warriors arose in the battlefield. Their indomitable courage, exceptional war strategy, and miraculous organizational skills left the Mughals stunned. These two warriors were Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade. Both were originally ordinary, impoverished soldiers who ascended to prominence due to the dire circumstances. Leading large Maratha forces, they began moving from place to place. At times, they recaptured forts that had fallen to the Mughals. Other times, they disrupted the Mughals by destroying miles of crops and trees, poisoning wells, and occasionally launching direct attacks. Wherever these warriors went, they achieved success, creating a sense of dread among Mughal troops at the mere mention of their names.

Dhanaji Jadhav at Vellore - By the end of December, Dhanaji Jadhav arrived near Vellore. His presence deeply unsettled Zulfiqar Khan, forcing him to lift the siege and send his supplies and family to Arcot. Preparing for battle, Zulfiqar Khan initially defeated Dhanaji at a location some distance from Arcot and then faced the Marathas in Arcot itself. However, in March 1696 CE, Santa Ghorpade appeared with his forces, drastically changing the situation. Maratha troops

[336] Madras Diary, 10 November 1694. (Quoted in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb, Vol. 5, p. 102.)

spread across Karnataka, disrupting Mughal control. The weakened Mughal forces began realizing that the empire's hold over Karnataka might soon collapse. Zulfiqar Khan found himself trapped, unable to receive funds or reinforcements from Aurangzeb due to the vast distance between them. Zulfiqar Khan attempted to secure a loan of one lakh rupees by mortgaging parts of the land to the English, but they persistently refused.[337]

Kishoreeinghji's Support During Adversity - Despite the dire circumstances, Kishoresinghji did not abandon Zulfiqar Khan. He understood that Aurangzeb's end was near, the Marathas were growing stronger, and Zulfiqar Khan was weakened and dispirited. Even so, Kishoreeinghji remained steadfast in his duty, upholding his pledge of allegiance to the Mughal side. From March to April, Zulfiqar Khan fought alternately against Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade. In April 1696 CE, near Arni, Zulfiqar Khan managed to defeat Santaji. It is believed that Kishoreeinghji passed away in this battle. With his death, Zulfiqar Khan was left vulnerable and confined himself to Arcot fort for self-preservation.[338] When divisions arose between Dhanaji and Santaji, Zulfiqar Khan regained some confidence and once again laid siege to Gingee.[339]

Honor and Kingdom Expansion - Before becoming the king, Kishoresinghji held the rank of a *Mansabdar* with a *mansab* of 1,000. After deposing PemsSinghji from the throne, Aurangzeb issued a royal *farman* (edict) and bestowed a ceremonial robe (*khilat*) upon Kishoresinghji, elevating him to a *mansab* of 3,000. After the victory at Bijapur, during the Sholapur camp, Kishoresinghji was honored with a gift of an

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[337] Madras Diary, March 3, 1696.
(Quoted in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's History of Aurangzev Vol. 5, p. 103-04)

[338] Nuskhae -e-Dilkash : By Bhimsen Kayastha.
(Quoted in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb,Vol.5, p. (104.)

[339] Sir J.N. Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, pp. 104-05.

elephant, five horses, and numerous jewels.[340] It is likely that his *mansab* was further increased during this time. According to official records, Kishoresinghji held a *mansab* of 7,000, although this figure does not align with the calculations outlined in *Ain-i-Akbari*.[341] It appears that Kishoresinghji's *mansab* consisted of 4,000 for personal rank (*zat*) and 3,000 for cavalry command. During the Bijapur campaign, Kunwar Ramsinghji accompanied Kishoresinghji with a *mansab* of 800.[342] For his valor in the Bijapur siege, Kishoreeinghji was awarded the *pargana* of Kuwai.[343] Similarly, during a battle with the Jats, while Bundi's ruler, Raja Aniruddhsinghji, fled the battlefield, Kishoresinghji fought with great bravery. As a result, the *pargana* of Keshoraipatan was taken from Bundi and granted to Kishoresinghji.[344]

Establishing Peace in His Kingdom - Pemsinghji ruled for only a few months, but his weakness and incompetence led to unrest and dissatisfaction in several districts of the kingdom, and there was a Significant Shortage in the Royal Treasury. The *parganas* of Mau, Barod, and others had descended into lawlessness, with widespread plundering. Smaller *bhomiyas* (local chieftains) began openly defying royal authority. This period was one of unrest, dissatisfaction, and anarchy throughout India. Moreover, Jagatsinghji had spent nearly his entire life on the battlefield, and Pemsinghji, who followed him, proved to be incompetent. Hence, the unrest was a natural consequence. In *pargana* Baran, Raja Uttamram Gaur had established his control, and in Modak, a prominent Mughal officer had been killed. A large portion of the tribute owed to the Mughal emperor remained unpaid.[345] Consequently, as soon as Kishoreeinghji ascended the throne, he was faced with significant political and financial challenges. Restoring order in Baran, Kishoresinghji dispatched a military force to *pargana* Baran under the leadership of Kunwar

[340] Munshi Moolchand, p. 116.
[341] Document Samvat 1747, Siga Mutafarriqat.
[342] Document Samvat 1747, Siga Mutafarriqat.
[343] Thakur Lakshmanadan
[344] Vanshabhaskara, Vol. III, p. 2888, and Thakura Lakshmanadan.
[345] Papers Samvat 1745 and 1748, Siga Mutafariqat.

Ramsinghji, accompanied by a Maratha chieftain named Asuji. Ramsinghji defeated Uttam Singh Gaur and re-established control over Baran. However, it appears that several smaller skirmishes were fought during this campaign, as approximately one lakh rupees were expended on the operation. Similarly, control over the *parganas* of Mau and Barod was restored, but this effort incurred an expenditure of over 2.25 lakh rupees.[346] To maintain peace in this region, several Rajputs and one Muslim were granted *jagirs* that same year. The Muslim *jagirdar* was required to serve the state with 18 Turkish horses as part of the agreement. Similarily, in the *parganas* of Mangrol, Kaithun, and Itawa, *girasiyas* (supervisors or revenue officers) were appointed.[347]

Royal Treasury and Tax Collection - A significant portion of the military expenditure was recovered from the residents of Baran, Barod, and Mau, for the establishment of peace. In the *pargana* of Mau and Barod, approximately two lakh thirty thousand rupees were collected in the form of "Halouti" and "Dusala" taxes in Samvat 1745. The "Dusala" tax was collected from the Patels, and the "Halouti" tax was levied on the farmers. Despite imposing such heavy taxes, the entire expenditure for military operations could not be covered. Additionally, the royal treasury was already in a poor state, which led to the need for borrowing large amounts of money at high-interest rates from the general populace.

Loans and Borrowing - A significant portion of the loans was obtained from the Nandwane *Bohras* (a trading community). In addition to money, large quantities of grain were also borrowed, with an interest rate of 12 percent per year. Sometimes, entire villages were handed over to the *Bohras* to repay the debt.

Repayment of Debts - Kishoresinghji not only repaid the debts incurred during his reign but also settled the old debts. In Samvat 1747, while Kishoresinghji was in Delhi, a Gujarati named Padmanabh presented a document from

[346] Papers Samvat 1745 and 1748, Siga Mutafariqat
[347] Documents Samvat 1745, 1748, Siga Sutfarriqat.

Samvat 1688, the time of Madhosinghji's rule, claiming that the Kota state owed him thirty thousand rupees. To settle this sixty-year-old debt,Maharaja Kishoresinghji granted a village to Padmanabh as repayment.[348]

Progress Under Kishoresinghji's Rule - Kishoersinghji spent most of his time accompanying Aurangzeb in the southern wars. However, during the limited time he could spend in his capital, he achieved notable success in strengthening, securing, and freeing his state from debt. He reclaimed control over the *parganas* of Baran, Barod, and Mau, restoring peace in these regions. He settled the several lakhs of rupees owed as royal dues and, despite financial crises, repaid the ancient debt of Padmanabh Gujarati. Additionally, he granted many villages as *jagirs* to temples and Brahmins.[349] Kishoresinghji initiated and completed several infrastructure projects, including new buildings, reservoirs, ghats, ponds, and stepwells. In Samvat 1750, the embankment of Kishore Sagar Lake outside Kota was repaired, and the Kishore Vilas Garden was established. Around the same time, Rajghat was constructed, and the palaces and Rangbadi Fort were renovated. The Kishoreepura locality was also established during his reign, and the bridge in Kishorepura was repaired. The Meelwadi Gate was renamed Kishorepura Gate in his honor. Additionally, he founded the town of Kishoreganj, located six miles from Mukandra, where a large pond, palace, and fort were constructed.[350] During Kishoresinghji’s rule, many public works were carried out through forced labor. Those who performed such labor were given nominal wages, just enough for subsistence. In Ashadh (June-July) of Samvat 1750, potters from several villages around Kota were called to work through *begar* (minimal wage) for the construction of Kavelu (tiles). Each laborer was paid a nominal wage of five paise per day. Although this was a meager amount, it is noteworthy that during that time, wheat

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348 Documents of 1745, 1746 and 1747 .

349 Basta Samvat 1746.

350 (i) Document Samvat 1749.
(ii) Thakur Lakshmandan.

was priced at 8 rupees per *mani* (a local weight measure).[351] The salaries of village *ahalkars* (accountants) were also quite low. No *ahalkar* earned more than 75 rupees annually. In Samvat 1746, the total salary for all Kayastha *ahalkars* was recorded as 2,864 rupees. This indicates the modest economic structure under Kishoresinghji's administration.

Management of Jagirs and Revenue Collection - Kishoresinghji maintained strict oversight over *jagirdars* (feudal landlords). Complaints against *jagirdars* often resulted in their villages being reclaimed by the state and placed under *mukata* (temporary contracts). Under this system, revenue collection was conducted by state-appointed officials, and the *jagirdar* had no direct authority over the villagers. Even state-administered (*khalisa*) villages were sometimes leased under the *mukata* system. It was a kind of zamindari but the period of muqata did not exceed two or three years. This system functioned like a form of land tenancy. The *mukatadar* (contractor) was required to deposit a fixed sum with the state, and any additional revenue collected from the villages beyond this sum was their profit.

Restrictions on Revenue Collection - Although *mukatadars* were allowed to keep surplus revenue, there appear to have been restrictions on how much they could collect. However, details about these restrictions are unclear. In years of famine or when grain prices fell sharply, *mukatadars* were often granted concessions. This system reflects the administrative efficiency and adaptability of Kishoresinghji's rule, balancing state needs with the realities of local economies. This also makes it clear that the *mukatedar* would have granted concessions to the farmers in such circumstances, and similar concessions were likely granted in the *khalsa* villages as well.[352]

Levy on Muslims for Remarriage - In the case of remarriage or *nata* (a form of remarriage), a tax ranging from 1 to 25 rupees was levied based on the economic status of the

[351] Papers Samvat 1745 and 1750, Siga Mutafarriqat
[352] Document Samvat 1747.

individual. This tax was known as *chhali*, *chhuyali*, or *chholi*. Additionally, when the remarried woman was given bangles, one rupee was deposited in the state treasury on that occasion. At that time, remarriage was prevalent only among non-Dwija (other than Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas castes of Hindus and Muslims. Even Muslims were not exempted from this tax.[353] It is noteworthy that this was during the reign of Aurangzeb in India.

The Jain Temple of Chandkhedi - In the year *Samvat* 1746, a wealthy Bagherwal Jain merchant began the construction of a temple dedicated to Lord Mahavira in Chandkhedi village near Khanpur. At that time, Aurangzeb had prohibited the construction of temples in his empire. He had ordered the destruction of hundreds of magnificent temples, and those who attempted to build new ones faced severe persecution. It was impossible for the news of the temple construction at Chandkhedi to escape the attention of a vigilant emperor like Aurangzeb. However, at this time, Aurangzeb was preoccupied with the war in the Deccan and had fought with the Rajputs a few years earlier. Additionally, Kishoresinghji was diligently serving Aurangzeb during this period. Hence, the emperor did not interfere in the construction of the temple.

Therefore, Aurangzeb did not demolish the temple in Chandkhedi during its construction. However, the governor of Ajmer repeatedly sent messages to the officials of Kota, emphasizing that the construction of the temple should be stopped. At that time, Aurangzeb was in the distant south, and keeping the governor of Ajmer appeased was not an impossible task. Even so, the Jain merchant feared that one day the temple might be destroyed. As a result, this temple was constructed in a unique manner. The main temple is built underground, accessible through a narrow passageway, without any provision for ventilation or light. Within this hidden temple, idols of Lord Mahavira and some other Tirthankaras were ceremoniously installed by the Bagerwal merchant. Above this underground temple lies another

[353] Document Samvat 1748.

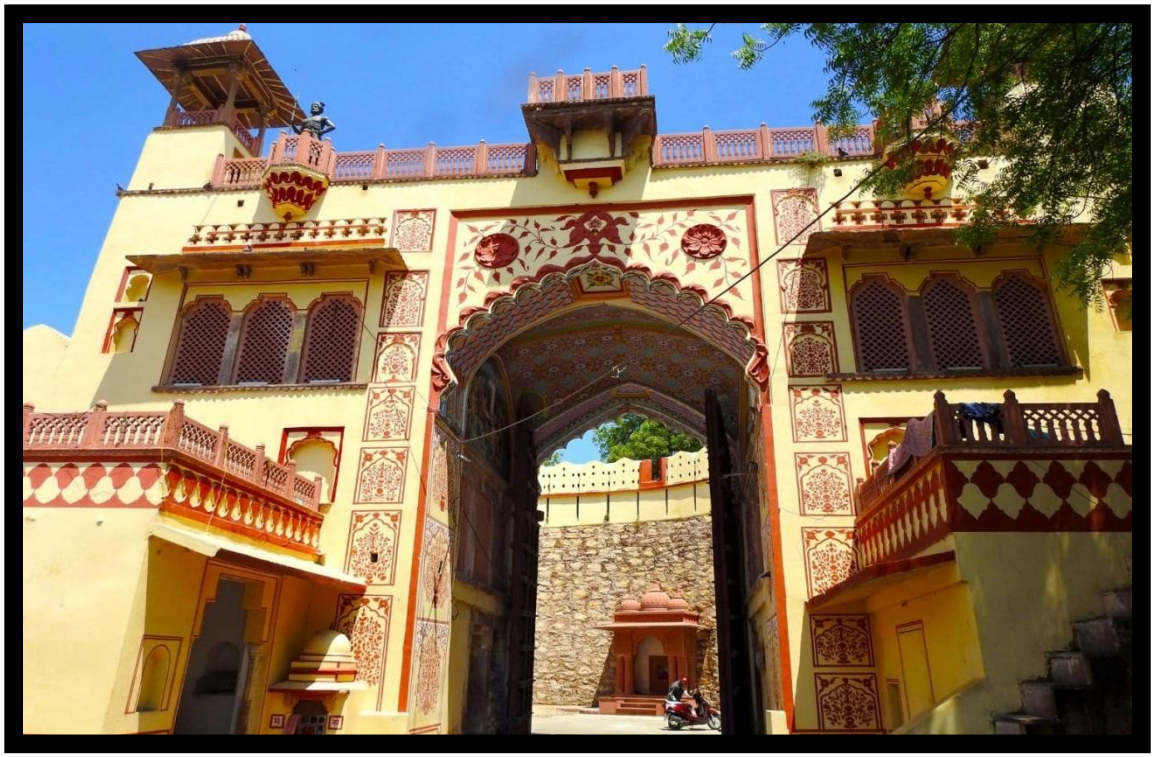
structure housing an idol, but no pran-pratishtha (formal consecration) was performed for it. Superficially, it appears that this upper structure is the actual temple, with nothing beneath it. The intent was that if Muslims attacked, they would destroy the upper idol or parts of the visible temple, leaving the underground sanctuary intact. Similar temples were built in various parts of southern India during Aurangzeb's reign to safeguard them from destruction.[354]

[354] Document Samvat 1746.
Inscription of Chandkhedi. Appendix 23



Rao Ramsinghji
(Samvat 1752 - 1764)

Rao Ramsinghji



Surajpole Gate, Kota

The historic "Surajpole Gate" was built in the 17th century by Rao Ramsinghji, the ruler of Kota State.



Shri Bheem Rajput Hostel, Surajpole, Kota

The historic building of "Shri Bheem Rajput Hostel," located in the Surajpole ward of Kota, was used as an artillery house (Topkhana) during the princely state era. It was established by Rao Ramsinghji, the ruler of Kota State.

Rao Ramsinghji
(1696-1707 CE)

Experience of War - Ramsinghji was with Kishoresinghji in the Battle of Arni. Even after Kishoresinghji's death, he remained at the Arni fort for some time. It appears that Zulfiqar Khan had captured the Arni fort and handed it over to Ramsinghji. Kishoresinghji died while fighting there.[355] Therefore, it was natural for Ramsinghji to receive the fort as a reward for his father's valor. Kishoresinghji died in April 1696 CE, and by August 1697 CE, Ramsinghji was engaged in the siege of Jinji with Zulfiqar Khan.[356] During this period, he had also come to Kota for his royal coronation.[357] Thus, he must have been in Arni in April 1696 CE. He had participated in battles alongside his father at places like Bijapur, Basantgarh, Ramgarh, Bhavnagar, Adoni, Panala, Bandewash, Changman, Arni, and others, where he had the opportunity to observe the military strategies of Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade while holding the position of a prince.[358] During his coronation, Ramsinghji had considerable experience in warfare.

Experience in Warfare - By the time of his coronation, Ramsinghji had gained considerable experience in warfare. As the ruler of Kota, Ramsinghji issued several royal grants and copper plates, from Adoni and Panala. The Mughal Empire had taken control of Adoni,[359] in 1687 CE, and Panala,[360] in 1689 CE. At that time, Ramsinghji was still a prince, but Kishoresinghji had brought him along as the crown prince.

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355 Nuskha-e-Dilkash (Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. 5, p. 104).

356 Nuskha-e-Dilkash Recipes, Savoury Madras Diary, 26 October 1697. Government, Vol. V, pp. 104-05.

357 Document Samvat 1752 Baishakh, Siga Mutafarrikat

358 Government, Vol. V, pp. 100-04. Document Samvat 1747.Munshi Moolchand, page . 123.

359 Maasir Alamgiri, p. 308.

360 Government, Vol. V, p. 32

Bishansinghji must have posed a threat to him. To secure Ramsinghji's future, Kishoresinghji likely gave him the authority to issue royal decrees. This is why Munshi Mulchand had access to several royal grants issued by Ramsinghji from Adoni and Panala. After the victory in Bijapur, Ramsinghji was also granted the rank of 1,000 mansabdar.[361]

Return to the Homeland and War for the Kingdom - Bishansinghji ascended the throne of Kota immediately, upon hearing the news of Kishoresinghji's death. When Ramsinghji learned of this, he sought the Emperor's permission to visit Kota to offer condolences for his father's death and to pay respects to his brother, Bishansinghji.[362] Aurangzeb might not have been familiar with Bishansinghji. He would have also heard that Bishansinghji had refused to participate in the war with his father. On the other hand, Ramsinghji’s valor, loyalty to the state, and filial devotion had already made a strong impression on him.

Thus, Ramsinghji was made a three-thousand-strong mansabdar and given 3,000 cavalry, along with a royal robe, and was granted the authority to dethrone his brother. Ramsinghji set out for his homeland with his army from the south.[363] Bishansinghji had already suspected that Ramsinghji would not easily accept his subordination and would attempt to take the throne of Kota by force. Therefore, Bishansinghji, along with his brother Harnathsinghji, met Ramsinghji near the battlefield at Avan. Both brothers, driven by their ambition for the throne, became enemies and began fighting each other. Harnathsinghji was struck down on the battlefield, and Bishansinghji was severely wounded and lost consciousness. His followers, in this state, carried him away in a Palaki (carriage) and fled the battlefield. When they regained their senses near Ghatoali village, they learned of their defeat and the death of Harnathsinghji. Bishansinghji was deeply distressed by the defeat and went to his father-in-law's village, Pander,[364] which was under the control of the Ranawat clan at

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361 Document Samvat 1747.
362 Thakur Lakshmanadan.
363 Munshi Moolchand, p. 122.
364 Near Jahazpur.

the time. Three years later, grieving and disturbed, Bishansinghji passed away, and his widowed wife followed him in death (Sati). A chhatri (ceremonial canopy or pavilion) for Bishansinghji is still pointed out at Pander. Bishansinghji had a son named Prithvisinghji, who was invited by Ramsinghji to Kota after a few years and was granted a jagir of Anta. Harnathsinghji's son, Kushalsinghji, was given the jagir of Sangod.[365]

Departure to the South Again – It is estimated that the battle between Ramsinghji and Bishansinghji occurred in April 1696 CE,[366] because after his coronation, Ramsinghji departed for the south again in the same year. While returning, he stopped at Amzhar, where local merchants came to pay him homage. Kunwar Bhimsinghji was also with Ramsinghji at that time.[367]

Back in Arni – After leaving his homeland, Ramsinghji reached the fort of Arni in the Karnataka region. At that time, Zulfiqar Khan, due to a lack of resources, was spending his days in the fort of Arkad. It is possible that Ramsinghji was once again made the commander of Arni’s fort. The several documents and copper plates issued from the fort of Arni by Munshi Moolchand are likely from this period, between April 1696 CE and December 1696 CE. During this time, Zulfiqar Khan had pursued Santaji Ghorpade for a long distance, but there was no direct confrontation between the Mughal army and the Marathas. It is possible that Ramsinghji also accompanied Zulfiqar Khan, but he mostly stayed in Arni.[368]

Condition of the Mughals and Marathas – By 1697 CE, the situation for both the Mughals and the Marathas was critical. Zulfiqar Khan had collected money from Tanjore and other cities to continue his operations, but his position remained precarious. During this period, by chance, a conflict broke out between Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade, as

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365 Thakur Lakshmanadan.
366 Sir J.N. Sarkar, Vol. V, pp. 104-05.
367 Document Samvat 1752.
368 Sir J.N. Sarkar: Vol. V, p. 104.

both wanted to be the chief commanders. Rajaram supported Dhanaji, but Dhanaji was defeated and fled to Maharashtra. This worsened Rajaram's situation, as he was living in the fort of Jinji at that time. Taking advantage of opportunities, he would loot and gather some money to survive, but due to a lack of funds, his military strength continued to dwindle, and like Zulfiqar Khan, he found himself in great difficulty.[369]

Rajaram and Ramsinghji – At Arkad, Zulfiqar Khan had set up his camp to suppress Rajaram. Due to a lack of funds and some physical weakness of Aurangzeb, Zulfiqar Khan's efforts had somewhat slackened, but he had not yet decided to abandon Aurangzeb's side. Rajaram was aware of this situation. He had met Ramsinghji several times. Ramsinghji fought against him in the Mughal army, and Rajaram knew that when he fought, he fought with full commitment. Despite this, Rajaram trusted Ramsinghji. When Rajaram saw that his financial situation had become extremely dire, he considered negotiating peace with Aurangzeb.

Ramsinghji's Proposal for Peace – In August 1697 CE , Rajaram sent his son Karn to Ramsinghji with a proposal for peace. Neither Ramsinghji nor Zulfiqar Khan could consider these terms themselves, so they were presented to Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb, who was determined not to make peace with the Marathas and was intent on their complete destruction, felt as though he had no time for peace before his death. He ordered Zulfiqar Khan to immediately seize Jinji and capture Rajaram. Upon receiving this order, Ramsinghji safely sent Karn back to his father in October 1697 CE, and Zulfiqar Khan, in November, launched a vigorous siege on Jinji.[370]

Ramsinghji at the Siege of Jinji – Zulfiqar Khan divided his army into three parts to besiege the Jinji fort from three sides. He stationed one part of his army near the northern gate, at the foot of the Singhvarman hill. Ramsinghji

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[369] Nuskha-e-Dilkash, (quoted at Sarkar: Vol. 5, p. 105).

[370] Nuskha-e-Dilkash and Madrasa Diary, 26 October, Government Vol. 5, p. 105.

setup his forces to the west of the fort, in front of the "Shaitan Dari" gate. The third part of the army, led by Dawood Khan, stationed itself one mile south of Jinji, in front of the Chikkali fort. Dawood Khan attacked on the same day and took control of Chikkali fort, but Zulfiqar Khan remained passive in his efforts. If he had wished, he could have captured Jinji on that day itself, but he did not. He wanted the siege to continue, to keep receiving large wages, and to let Aurangzeb know of his progress. He wanted the siege to continue so that he could keep receiving a large salary and inform Aurangzeb that the battle was ongoing. As a result, the siege lasted for two months.

Description of Jinji Fort – The vast Jinji fort is located in a wide field situated between the Eastern Ghats and the coastal region. To the north of it is Arcot, and to the south is Trichinapaly. The Jinji fort is actually a complex of several forts. Three strong forts are situated on three tall hills, surrounded by robust walls, forming a triangular perimeter of about three miles. These hills, like walls, are very high. Each hill is surrounded by several fortifications, each fortification having numerous towers and countless holes, within which many cannons and gunpowder barrels were placed. The main fort, which connects one fort to another, is sixty feet high. Narrow and steep stairways lead to the upper part of each fort. Of these three forts, the highest and strongest is Rajgarh fort, which rises 800 feet above the plain, with a nearly vertical wall of 400 feet. The only way to reach the top is a very narrow and difficult path that eventually ends. At the top, there is a deep pit (about fifty feet deep and twenty-four feet wide), which must be crossed to reach the highest part of the fort. During that time, a simple wooden bridge spanned this pit. On the other side of the bridge, there was another gate, where if ten soldiers stood, they could face off against ten thousand soldiers.[371] The northern hill is called Krishnagiri, and the southern one is Chandraayan fort. Both hills are of moderate height. About a mile south of Rajgarh is Chikkali

[371] South Arcot District Gazette 1, pages 347-48 and Manual, page 413.

Fort, which was referred to as 'Chamar Tekri' by Bhimsen Kayasth.

Ram Singhji's Incredible Courage – When Aurangzeb learned that Zulfiqar Khan was showing slackness in military operations, he sent him strict instructions, making it imperative for Zulfiqar Khan to capture Jinji. He informed Rajaram of his intentions in time. As a result, Rajaram went to Bangalore with his chief officers, leaving his family behind in the fort. Zulfiqar Khan then attacked the fort. On one side, Daud Khan and on the other side, Dalpat Rai Bundela launched an attack and entered the fort. A large portion of Rajaram's wealth fell into the hands of Zulfiqar Khan, but Rajaram's family took refuge in the impregnable Rajgarh Fort with some brave Maratha soldiers, halting the pace of the attack. Both Zulfiqar Khan and Daud Khan wondered how to cross the terrifying trench and enter the invulnerable gate of Rajgarh, where ten soldiers could face ten thousand. In this dire situation, both Muslim commanders looked to Ramsinghji, knowing that Rajputs are always ready to embrace death in battle. On the other hand, Ramsinghji, recalling the valor of his brave men, was eager to demonstrate his courage. As soon as he saw that Zulfiqar Khan and Daud Khan were hesitating, he, along with his brave Hada soldiers, crossed the wooden bridge and entered the impenetrable gate, risking their lives.[372] This incident took place on January 2, 1698 CE, the day of Sankranti.

Protection of Rajaram's Family – When the Rajput soldiers entered Rajgarh Fort, there was chaos among Rajaram's family, and his queens begged Ramsinghji for protection. Ramsinghji arranged palanquins for everyone, and Rajaram's four wives, two daughters, and three sons were placed in them and taken out of the fort. They were treated with respect and placed in the royal camp. Around four thousand men, women, and children were found in the fort. One of Rajaram's queens considered surrendering dishonorable and threw herself from the fort, ending her life.

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[372] Nuskha-e-Dilkash- Government Edition 5, p. 107-08.

Even after this, Ramsinghji continued to fight in the South until Aurangzeb's death, gaining respect from Aurangzeb from time to time. During victories in Bijapur, Ramgarh, Basantgarh, etc., Ramsinghji frequently interacted with Azam and in the Karnataka campaign with Bedar Bakht, which led Azam to be impressed with Ramsinghji's valor and qualities.

Aurangzeb's Illness – At the end of the autumn season in Samvat 1763, Aurangzeb fell ill in Ahmednagar, and he felt that his death was imminent. Aurangzeb had five sons: Muhammad Sultan, Muhammad Muazzam, Muhammad Azam, Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, and Muhammad Akbar. Of these, Muhammad the Sultan was imprisoned. Muhammad Akbar lived with Sambhaji for a few days and fled to Iran in fear of his father. Both these princes had died at the time of Aurangzeb's illness. When Aurangzeb was afflicted with a deadly disease, his army was stationed at Aurangabad. Azam and Kambakhsh were with him and Muazzam was in Punjab. Seeing the condition of his father, both Azam and Kambakhsh became anxious for the kingdom. When Aurangzeb came to know about this, he thought of a deep trick even while lying on his death bed to redress this odd situation. Kambakhsh was ordered to go to Bijapur and establish his authority over the fort and continue his rule there. Muhammad Azam was ordered to proceed to Malwa. Aurangzeb died in Ahmednagar on 3 March 1707 CE.[373]

Aurangzeb's Will – Before he died, Aurangzeb probably divided the kingdom among his three sons. Kambakhsh was given two provinces of Bijapur and Hyderabad, six to Azam Shah and twelve to Muazzam. This will was considered forged by all. Muazzam had strongly urged his brothers to obey it, but Azam did not consider this will to be authentic and did not care about it. Even if this will was genuine, Azam and Muazzam would not believe it. Both brothers had an intense

[373] (i) Khafikhan Vol. II, p. 547.
(ii). Maasire Alamgiri, p. 520.

desire for glory that it was impossible for the bloodshed to stop.

Preparation for War -On the second day of Aurangzeb's death, Azam came to Ahmednagar and was sent to Daulatabad for burial of his father's body and ten days later i.e. 14 March. In 1707 CE, he formally ascended the throne at Ahmednagar. He then proceeded to Delhi on 17 March to attain the royal throne and reached Aurangabad on 2 April.[374] During Aurangzeb's death, Muhammad Muazzam was in Jamrud, twelve miles from Peshawar. Jamrud and Ahmednagar were about fourteen hundred miles apart, so it was evident that the first of the two brothers to take possession of the royal treasury would have a great deal of power in his hands. On 31 March, Muazzam came to Peshawar and started preparing for war.[375] On 3rd May he entered Lahore, and on 1st June he entered Delhi. Here he got a lot of wealth. Then on 12th June he reached near Agra. At this time Azam had come to Gwalior. In Agra too, Muazzam got property worth many crores.[376]

Ramsinghji met Azam - At this time, Ramsinghji was in the battle of Karnatak with Zulfiqarkhan, and he had shown amazing bravery. In the reward for winning the fort of Gingee, Zulfiqarkhan had received the title of 'Nasratjang', and Ramsinghji had also received some parganas and honors. As soon as the news of Aurangzeb's death and Azam's preparations was received, Zulfikar left with Ramsinghji and Dalpat Bundela and met Azam in Aurangabad on 2 April. It was here that Ramsinghji met Azam.

Ramsinghji accepted Azam's side - Ramsinghji was a benefactor of Aurangzeb. According to his father's will, and also with the instructions of the emperor, he defeated his elder brother Bishansingh in the battlefield and obtained the kingdom of Kota. He had fought in Basantgarh, Bhavnagar, Bijapur, Adoni, Panala, etc., in the title of Kunwar, and then he

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374 Irvine : Later Mughals, Vol. 1, p. 11.
375 Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 2946.
376 Irvine : Later Mughals, Vol. 1, pp. 11-12 and 18-21.

showed unparalleled courage while attacking the fort of Gingee with Zulfikarkhan. Therefore, Aurangzeb had great faith in him and Azam loved Ramsinghji deeply because of his constant contact and many heroic qualities. When Azam requested Ramsinghji to take his case, he saw that Azam was in the same situation as he himself was 11 years ago. By the time Kishoresinghji died, Bishansingh had ascended the throne at once, and Ramsinghji was far south. He had received his father's permission to sit on the throne, but without the help of Aurangzeb, he could not get the kingdom. Now at this time Aurangzeb had died. His eldest son Muazzam took over the royal treasures of Delhi and Agra and declared himself emperor. Azam had also taken the royal emblem in Ahmednagar, but he lacked both money and people. Zulfikar Khan himself had no zeal to fight and wanted to return to the South, and Chinkulich Khan had left him after making some excuse.[377] At this time, Ramsinghji must have thought of times how he was helped in getting the throne of Kota, so knowing the adverse circumstances, he considered it his duty to support Azam.

Buddhsinghji aligned with Muazzam – Rao Buddhsinghji of Bundi, dissatisfied with Aurangzeb, had joined Muazzam in Kabul some years earlier. Muazzam, recognizing his potential utility in critical times, granted him refuge. Upon Aurangzeb's death, Muazzam further assured Buddhsinghji and promised that he would be well-rewarded and satisfied upon achieving victory. With his and Vijaysingh Kachhwaha's support, several thousand Rajput soldiers aligned themselves with Muazzam's cause.[378]

Before the Conflict – After departing from Aurangabad, Azam Shah reached Burhanpur on April 25, 1707. Advancing beyond Burhanpur he had to face great difficulty. Due to severe heat and lack of water, many poor men and women died in his army. And the soldiers began to die without food. A

[377] Irvine: Later Mughals, Vol. 1, p. 12.

[378] i. Khafi Khan, 573.
ii. Iradat Khan, *Tazkira*.
iii. Muhammad Qasim: *Ibratnama*.
iv. *Vansh Bhaskar*, Part 4, page 2955.

great army hero named Muhammad Amin Khan abandoned him. After facing many such calamities, Azam Shah reached Sironj on 14 May. Here he was informed that Muazzam had come to Lahore. An army of 45,000 was sent from Sironj under the leadership of Zulfiqarkhan and Rao Ramsinghji to capture the Thago (turrets or towers) of Chambal. These two commanders also welcomed Azam Shah's son, Bedar Bakht, who was advancing from Ahmedabad via Khana towards Gwalior. Azam had some doubts about Bedar Bakht's loyalty to him as a son. Therefore, he had ordered him to come alone without his army. However, Bedar Bakht brought some troops with him, and the ruler of Amer, Jaisinghji, was also accompanying him.[379] When Zulfiqar Khan and Ramsinghji met Bedar Bakht, they learned that Muhammad Azim, the second son of Muazzam, had captured Agra and was advancing to block the Thags (fortified positions) of Chambal. When Bedar Bakht, Zulfiqar Khan, and Ramsinghji were at Noorabad,[380] the commander of Muhammad Muazzam's, army Chief, Mohatasham Khan reached the northern bank of the Chambal River and positioned cannons at the thags (fortified points), ready to fight. Zulfiqar Khan did not want to engage Mohatasham Khan in battle, but Bedar Bakht was determined to attack. Ultimately, Bedar Bakht crossed the Chambal River through a thag that Mohatasham Khan was unaware of. Upon seeing this, Mohatasham Khan fled, abandoning his artillery. Meanwhile, Muazzam was advancing with his forces. After establishing control over Delhi, he marched towards Agra. While passing through Mathura, he sent a letter to Azam via a fakir (Muslim Saint), reminding him of their father's will and proposing a division of the empire to avoid bloodshed. However, Azam was resolute in waging war and replied,

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[379] (i) Kamaraj : Ibartanama.
(ii). Kamabarkhan: Tazkirat Uslatin-i-Chagataiya.
(iii) Khushalchand: Nasiruzhamani.
(iv). Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, p. 2965

[380] Noorabad 16 miles north of Gwalior and 20 miles from the Chambal river
It's in the south. (Indian Atlas Sheet No. 51, North-East)

"When tomorrow's sun rises, I will meet you on the battlefield." [381]

Ramsinghji's Letter to Bhudhsinghji As mentioned earlier, Bhudhsinghji sided with Muazzam, while Rao Ramsinghji supported Azam. Besides Ramsinghji, Azam was also supported by Jaipur's Maharaja Jaisinghji, Dalpatsingh of Orchha, Gajsingh of Narwar, Mahip Singh of Shivpuri, and several other Rajput leaders. There had been animosity between Ramsinghji and Bhudhsinghji from before. While Rao Ramsinghji was occupied with the southern campaigns, Bhudhsinghji, met with Muazzam in Panjas and with his assistance reclaimed Patan back into his dominion.The frequent exchanges of territories between the parganas further revived and intensified the hereditary enmity between the royal families of Kota and Bundi. However, until now, the rulers of the two states had never directly fought against each other, and outwardly, they maintained cordial relations as kin. Azam, while in Aurangabad, had promised Ramsinghji, **" Muʾazzam kī sahāyatā se Buddhasiṃh ne tumse Pāṭan vāpis chhīn liyā hai, parantu ab main tumko Būndī detā hūn. Āp mere pakṣ se laṛo***.(With help of Muazzam Buddhsingh, has taken back Patan from you. But now, I grant you Bundi. Fight on my side)."*[382] Despite this, Ramsinghji thought it was inappropriate for the two royal families to fight from opposing sides. Ramsinghji had already fought against his brother Bishansinghji for the throne and had expressed deep remorse and grief over the death of his younger brother Harnathsinghji. Thus, he understood the consequences of familial betrayal. For this reason, he did not succumb to the temptation of obtaining the Bundi state and instead wrote to Bhudhsinghji, stating, *"It is not appropriate for Bundi and Kota to fight from opposing sides. Therefore, you should also side with Azam."* Bhudhsinghji, however, did not accept this peace proposal and instead invited Ramsinghji to join Muazzam's side.

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[381] Irvine: Later Mughals, Vol. 1, p. 22.

[382] (i) Vanshabhaskara, Quaternary, p. 2947.
(ii) Major Stratton, p. 9

The Battle of Jajav[383] **-** The armies of Azam and Muazzam advanced toward each other, reaching near Dholpur. Azam moved slightly beyond Dholpur and, suffering greatly from the scorching heat of Jyestha (summer) and the lack of water, arrived in Jajav. Meanwhile, Muazzam's army also began to appear. Muazzam had sent a portion of his army ahead, which Azam defeated and looted. Now preparations for the battle in the field of Jajav began on both sides.

Ramsinghji in the Vanguard - In Azam's army, Prince Bedarbakht was appointed as the leader of the vanguard. Along with him, prominent commanders such as Rao Ramsinghji, Jaipur's Raja Jaisinghji, Bundelkhand's Rao Dalpatsinghji, and Zulfiqar Khan were also placed in the vanguard. On the other side, Muazzam appointed Bhudhsinghji as the leader of his vanguard. Initially, Prince Bedarbakht was mounted on an elephant, with Rao Ramsinghji and Zulfiqar Khan riding elephants on his left side as they advanced.[384]

Ramsinghji's Valor - On June 18, 1707 CE (Ashadha Krishna 3, Samvat 1764), the battle commenced.[385] Fierce fighting ensued for a long time, with both sides demonstrating immense courage and valor on the battlefield. During the

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383 The battlefield was 4 miles north-east of Jajav
(Irvine: Later Mughals, Vol. 1, p. 25, Note.)

384 (i**) Rao Dalpat Bundela wa Ramsingh Hada ke az banda-haye qadeem-ul-**
khidmat bood,jangju wa tophkhana-e aatashbar muqarrar namoodand.
- Khafi Khan Part 2,
Page 588. (Rao Dalpat Bundela and Ramsingh Hada were among the long-serving
loyals. They were appointed over the fighting forces and the artillery– Khafi Khan, Part, Page 588.
(ii.) Kamaraja: Ibaratnama, p. 20.
(iii.) Iradatkhan: Tazkira, p. 30.

385 (i) Khafikhan, p. 587.
(ii). Irwin: Later Mughals , Vol. 1, p. 125.
(iii) Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, p. 2960.

intense battle, both Prince Bedarbakht and Wali Jah were killed. Witnessing this, Azam Shah lost heart and instructed Rao Ramsinghji and Rao Dalpatsinghji Bundela, who were fighting with great determination.

Seeing this, Azam Shah became disheartened and cried out to Rao Ramsinghji and Dalpatsinghji Bundela, who were firmly holding their ground on the battlefield. He said, “Now I have lost everything, and I wish to end my own life by leaping into this inferno of war.” Hearing his words, the deceitful and treacherous ones around him merely offered sweet words, but Ramsinghji and Dalpatsinghji said, “First, witness our battle prowess and see how we sacrifice our lives for you like moths to a flame. Once we are gone, you may do as you wish.”[386]

Saying this, Ramsinghji began to fight with all his might. At this point, Baz Khan Afghan and Bhudhsinghji attacked Zulfikar Khan and Ramsinghji. Rao Ramsinghji, seated on his elephant, faced them. During the battle, a cannonball struck the trunk of Ramsinghji’s elephant, injuring it. The elephant roared in pain and fled. Ramsinghji then leapt off the elephant, mounted a horse, and continued fighting with his sword. Soon, he dismounted and fought on foot. For some time, like the immovable Angad, he held his ground and fought valiantly with his sword. Meanwhile, a fierce and devastating storm arose, which worked against Azam’s army. It was the month of Ashadh (monsoon), and the swirling dust turned day into night, making it difficult to distinguish friend from foe.

Ramsinghji sustained numerous wounds, leaving his entire body severely injured. Ultimately, with extraordinary bravery, he attained martyrdom while fighting valiantly, struck by a cannonball. However, before falling, he had already slain many enemy warriors, and even Baz Khan Pathan himself was wounded by Ramsinghji’s hand and forced to retreat. Had Zulfiqar Khan and Raja Jaisinghji fought with the same valor and loyalty, Azam would undoubtedly have achieved victory. However, Zulfiqar Khan fled to Gwalior, and during the intense battle, Raja Jaisinghji quietly wrapped a shawl around his head and defected to Muazzam’s army.[387]

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[386] Jangnama, pp. 36-37.Appendix 24

[387] (i) Iradat Khan : Tazkira, Page 37.

The End of the Battle and the Final Rites of Ramsinghji – Azam and his two sons were killed in the battle. Rustam Dilkhan, after decapitating Azam, presented his head to Muazzam. However, this sight moved Muazzam with compassion, and he severely scolded Dilkhan. In Azam's army, 12,000 cavalrymen had been wounded, and many soldiers had perished due to the intense heat and thirst. Muazzam had issued orders that the soldiers of the defeated side should not be harmed. Ramsinghji's body was covered under numerous other corpses, as many Rajputs had sacrificed their lives heroically at the same spot where Ramsinghji fell. After the battle ended, his body was lifted from the battlefield and brought to Noorabad, where his last rites were performed with due ceremony.[388] Rao Dalpatsingh of Bundelkhand was also killed by a cannonball, alongside Ramsinghji. His son Bharatchandji was with him, and he performed his father's final rites at Dhami village, 7 miles from Agra.

State Expansion - During the time of Raminghji, the parganas of Sarathal, Chhipabarod, and Khanpur were merged into the Kota state. These parganas had been awarded by Aurangzeb for their valor and loyalty in the south. These areas were previously known as Mau Maidan. During the time of Jagatsinghji, this territory was part of the Mukata (military revenue grant). Now, under Ramsinghji's reign, it was fully incorporated into the state. However, some parts of it remained in the Mukata. Pargana Urmal was part of Mukata, for which the Matalba (formal request or demand made to the imperial court) was sent to Ujjain.[389]

(ii). Kamaraja: Ibaratnama, p. 27.
(iii) Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, p. 2980-81. Appendix 24
Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, p. 2982-2983 Appendix 24
(iv) Jangnama, p. 47. Appendix 24
- Khafikhan, Vol. II, p. 591.
-Syar-ul-Mutakhrin: p. 10.

[388] (i) Bhimsen : Nuskha-e-Dilkash 167A.
(ii) Irvine: Later Mughals, Vol. 1, p. 34.

[389] (i) Munshi Moolchand, Page 126.
(ii) Document Samvat 1757, Siga Mutafarrikat.

Honor - When Ramsinghji ascended the throne, Aurangzeb granted him the rank of 3000 Mansabdar and appointed him the officer in charge of 3000 cavalry. After the victory at Jinji, his rank was further increased.[390] However, Ramsinghji was especially renowned for his artillery, which earned him the nickname "Bhāṇḍbūjya" (meaning ‘great artillery commander’). Pleased with his bravery and loyalty at Aurangabad, the Emperor awarded him the honor of the "Naubat" (official honor), a highly prestigious distinction in the Mughal period. For a Hindu ruler to receive the Naubat was considered a significant honor. On this occasion, many nobles congratulated Ramsinghji, and in celebration, he spent several thousand rupees rewarding the Emperor's servants.[391] Additionally, Aurangzeb bestowed the title of "Rao" upon Ramsinghji.[392]

Persian historians have used the title 'Rao' first before the name of Ramsinghji for the Kota rulers.[393] However, Ganga Sahai has written that the title 'Rao' was first given by the Emperor Shahjahan to Madhosinghji.[394] According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, Shahjahan gave the title of Raja to Madhosinghji, and this statement is more credible since Abdul Hamid was a royal historian. Ramsinghji's son, Bhimsinghji, was also a 500-man sabdar. After the victory at Jinji, in Samvat 1756 (1699 CE), the number of horses in his mansab was increased by 500. During that time, 300 rupees were spent on registering the names of horses and cavalry in the royal records.The Suba (governor) of Ajmer and Ujjain also visited Kota multiple times during Ramsinghji's rule. When the Subedar of Ajmer, Nawab Husain Ali Khan, visited Kota, he was offered a gift of 10,000 rupees, and his other servants were also generously rewarded. Both subedars regarded the Kota state with respect, as Ramsinghji had become a favored ally of Aurangzeb in the south.[395]

Relations with other States: Because of his respectable position at the Mughal court, Ramsinghji enjoyed significant

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390 Munshi Moolchand, p. 126.
391 Document Samvat 1757, Siga Mutafarrikat.
392 Munshi Moolchand, p. 126.
393 Kamaraja : Ibaratnama, p. 84.
394 Vansh Prakash, p. 137.
395 Document Samvat 1756, Siga Mutafarrikat.

esteem among the rulers of Rajputana. Kumwar Bhimsinghji, Ramsinghji's son, married the daughter of Maharana Amarsinghji of Udaipur. The royal magnificence of the marriage can be inferred from the fact that when the guests arrived for the Tilak ceremony of Bhimsinghji from Udaipur, 30 maund (around 600 kg) of flour and eight maund Sugar, fifteen maund(~37.3kg) Rice, and twelve Maund Dal were required. The guests stayed in Kota for eight days. Maharana Amarsinghji ascended the throne in Samvat 1755.[396] On that occasion, a felicitation was sent from the Kota, which contained elephants, horses and clothes worth Rs. 15,000). It is worth mentioning that all this cloth was purchased from the merchants of the Kota.[397] After the death of Maharaja Bishansinghji in Samvat 1756, Maharaja Sawai Jaisinghji ascended the throne of Jaipur. In Samvat 1757, the traditional coronation gifts were sent from Kota for him, which included several elephants, horses, and many valuable garments.[398] During Ramsinghji's reign, his son Bhimsinghji also married several Rajput princesses from Udaipur, Roopnagar, Bansbahala, and Develia (Pratapgarh). Many Rajput women used to send rakhi (a sacred thread) to Ramsinghji, and all of them were properly honored.[399]

State Administration: Ramsinghji's state minister was Rai Dwarkadas, in whom he had complete trust. The management of the districts was organized in the same way as before. The police and judicial departments were not separate. The officer responsible for making arrests would also act as the judge. The punishments were generally harsh, but for crimes related to adultery, only a monetary fine was imposed. After this, Maharaja Sawai Jaisinghji ascended the throne of Jaipur.

If a man was suspected of committing adultery, a "muchalka" (bond) was taken from him, stating that if the charge was proven in the future, he would have to pay a certain amount of money or endure a specific punishment.[400] In special cases, the entire property of the family could be confiscated. When penalties were imposed, written judgments were not made. In

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396 Ojha : History of Rajputana, Part III, 905.
397 Papers Samvat 1752 and 1756, Siga Mutafarriqat.
398 Document Samvat 1757, Siga Mutafarrikat.
399 Papers dated 1753, 1757, 1760, Siga Mutafarriqat.
400 Document Samvat 1757, Siga Mutafarriqat.

Sangod, Shah Kishandas was punished with confiscation of property, but the only writing on paper was "Sah Kishandas par aitraaji (aprasannata) hui." ("Shah Kishandas incurred displeasure.")

During the reign of Ramsinghji, land measurement and taxation likely passed from the control of the emperor's appointed officials to the state's control. In different parts of Rajputana, various ropes were used for land measurement at that time. In the Kota state, several types of ropes had been in use before Ramsinghji's reign. He preferred to use only one type of measuring cord (Zreeb) throughout his entire kingdom. Thus, when land was granted as a gift, it was ordered that the land should be measured using the "Bahti dori soon naap kar dee jaave" or “the flowing rope of Kota.”[401] This rope is mentioned in the documents from the time of Jagatsinghji as well. However, it became more widely used during Ram -singhji's reign. The excellence of the administration and organization during his time can be inferred from the fact that every main town in the pargana sent a detailed monthly report to Kota.

In every district (pargana) of the kingdom, there was significant trade, and the state ensured its proper management. The price list (Nirkhnama) of the town of Barod is provided below, which will give readers an insight into the economic conditions of that time.[402]

Jwaar 1) for 4s
Wheat 1) for 2s5
Chickpea 1) for 2□s5
Ghee 1) for s5□
Green 1) for 1s2
Black Gram 1) for 1□□s
Red Gram 1) for □□s5
Millet 1) for □s8
Jaggery 1) for □s4
Sugar 1) for s6□
Salt 1) for 1□s2
Flaxseed 1) for 1□□□s
Sesame 1) for 1s2
Sweet oil 1) for 1s5

[401] Document Samvat 1738.
[402] Document Samvat 1757, Siga Mutafarriqat.

Cotton	1) for Is2
Gold	13 for 1 tola

At that time, the types of cloth available in the markets of Kota included velvet (makhmal), musru, chikan, mahmudi, chikan Burhanpuri, elaichi, Multani print, tash, and kimkhab, among others, which are worth mentioning.[403]The price of zari sarees was as high as 25 rupees per saree. This indicates the prosperity of Kota's markets during that period, as 15,000 rupees at that time were equivalent to approximately 60,000 rupees in today's terms.

Construction Work - During the reign of Ramsinghji, the Rampura Bazaar was established, and the Rampura Gate and fort were constructed. The Surajpole Gate was also built during this time. Ramsinghji founded Ramganj and Ranovtha. He also constructed the pond at Ranovtha and established the Ramniwas Bagh. The city wall (Shahar Panah) was started in the year Samvat 1754 and continued for 13 months. The construction involved the use of 2 Manasa (2,400 maunds, 1 mansa = 37.324 kilograms) of grain and several thousand rupees. The Kishore Sagar project also progressed during Ramsinghji’s reign.[404]

Roads to Udaipur and Jaipur - For the entertainment of readers, we provide an account of the routes used to travel from Kota to Udaipur, Kota to Amber (Jaipur), and Kota to Bans Bahala. In Samvat 1756, on Kartik Krishna Trayodashi, the people who departed from Kota with elephants, horses, clothes, and other gifts for a ceremonial visit (Tika) to Udaipur reached their destination on Ashwin Krishna Chaturdashi, taking 1 month and 1 day. They followed the route detailed below:Mandana, Mukundgarh, Khairabad, Bhanpura, Rampura, Bhaatkhedi, Jawad, Bhaatkhedi, Raipur, Jaunpur, Untlo, and Chhakrad.[405] In Samvat 1757, royal officials carrying ceremonial offerings traveled to Amer via the following route: Nanta, Bundi, Dugari, Nagar, Tonk, Niwai, Chaksu, Sanganer, and Amer. In Samvat 1760, Kunwar Bhimsinghji's wife traveled to her parental home in Bans Bahala via the following route: Raipur, Mukundgarh, Bhanpura, Rampura, Jarhera, Dasor, Sinawadi, Aranand,

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403 Document Samvat 1756, Siga Mutafarriqat.

404 (i) Document Samvat 1752.
(ii). Thakur Lakshmandan.

405 Document Samvat 1756, Siya Mutafarriqat

Devalya, Ghatalia, and Simpur. The officials accompanying her returned via Achalavad, Keenghati, Chesore, Rampura, Rampur, Bhanpura, Mukundgarh, and Jagpura.[406]The above description makes it clear that Rao Ramsinghji, a true Rajput, fought in several battles. Even as a Kunwar and afterwards, he spent most of his life on the battlefield. Despite not being the eldest son, he earned the throne due to his filial devotion, imperial service, courage, and valor. He held high esteem in the imperial court, and the rulers of Udaipur and Amer also respected him. Even though much of his life was spent on the battlefield, his administration was well-organized. During his time, only once was there unrest in the Mau Maidana pargana, likely because it had been recently incorporated into Kota State, which might not have pleased the Bundi rulers. Kunwar Bhimsinghji quelled this unrest within a short time.[407]The confiscation of all possessions of the merchant from Sangod also suggests that he might have acted against the state. Apart from these two incidents, the reign of Rao Ramsinghji in the Kota state remained consistently peaceful. Ramsinghji ruled from Samvat 1752 to Samvat 1764 and died on Ashadha Krishna Chaturthi Samvat 1764 (20 June 1707) in the battlefield of Jajava.[408]

[406] Papers Samvat 1756, 1757 and 1760.
[407] Document Samvat 1762, Siga Mutafarriqat.
[408] (i)Document Samvat 1763.
(ii). Irvine: Later Mughals, Vol. 1, p. 25. 30.
(iii)Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, p. 2967.



Maharao Bhimsinghji
(Samvat 1764-1777)

Maharao Bhimsinghji



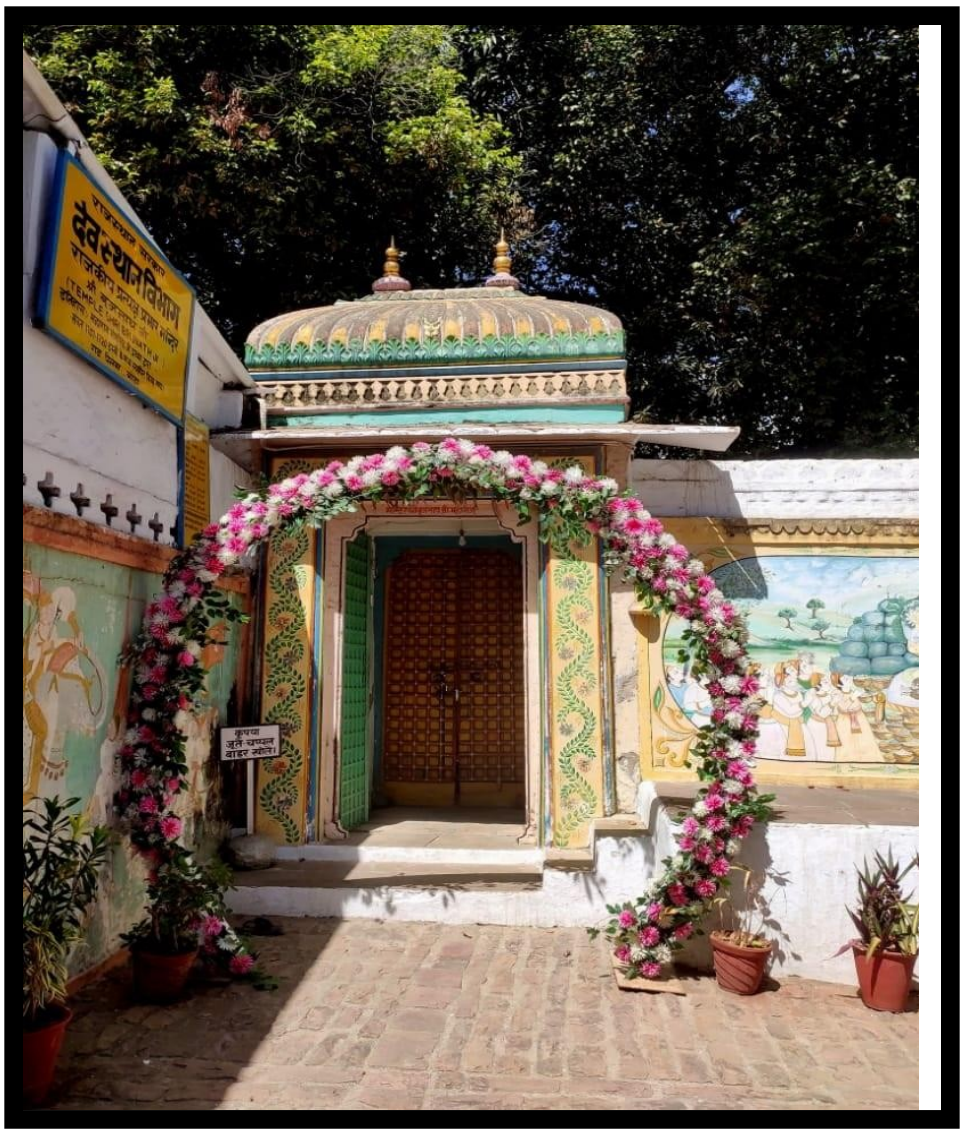
Hathipole Garh Palace, Kota

Located in the Kota Fort, the "Hathiya Pole Gate" was built in the early 18th century by Maharao Bhim Singh I.



Sanwaliaji Baran

Maharao Bhimsinghji was not only a courageous conqueror but also deeply religious. In Samvat 1766, even during turbulent times, he spent several thousand rupees to construct the temple of Sanwalaji in Baran.



Brijnath Ji Temple, Garh, Kota

The Brijnath Ji Temple, located within the Kota Fort (Garh), was built in the early 18th century by Maharao Bhimsinghji I, the ruler of Kota State. The temple showcases traditional **Rajasthani temple architecture**, with intricately carved stone work. During the princely era, the temple served both religious and ceremonial purposes, where royal rituals were often conducted by the ruling family of Kota.



Manohar Thana Fort- 18th Century

The fort’s construction by the Bhil rulers is significant, as the Bhils are one of the oldest tribal communities in India. Their involvement in building a fort shows their regional strength and influence during that period.



Shahabad Fort

The fort dates back to the medieval era, likely built in the 17th century, and is one of the strongest forts in the Hadoti region of Rajasthan.

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Maharao Bhimsinghji
(Samvat 1764-1777)

Mughal Empire and Maharao Bhimsinghji When Maharao Bhimsinghji ascended the throne, the Mughal Empire was in a state of decline. Due to fratricidal conflicts, continuous wars, and rebellions by the Sikhs and Marathas, the imperial power was weakening. Taking advantage of this situation, Maharao Bhimsinghji expanded his kingdom and consolidated power. In reality, the decline of the Mughals presented brave warriors like Bhimsinghji with an excellent opportunity to showcase their courage and valor.

Bahadur Shah's Turbulent Reign The glory and grandeur of the Mughal Empire vanished with Aurangzeb. After emerging victorious at the battlefield of Jajav, Muhammad Muazzam took the title of Bahadur Shah and ascended the throne of Delhi with the same pomp displayed by Jahangir,Shahjahan and Aurangzeb during their coronations. However, Bahadur Shah's coronation was merely a spectacle. Behind it, there was neither the strength nor the splendor of earlier times. Bahadur Shah ruled from July 1707 CE to February 1712 CE , approximately 4 years and 7 months. During this time, he never got the chance to sit peacefully on the throne nor to deliberate on governance or policy matters.

Campaigns Against Jaisinghji and Kam-Bakhsh A few months after ascending the throne, Bahadur Shah launched a campaign against Amer. From there, he proceeded to Marwar, defeated Maharaja Ajitsingh, and reached a settlement before advancing to Ajmer. Meanwhile, he received

news that Muhammad Kam-Bakhsh had rebelled in the south and assumed royal insignia.Consequently,Bahadur Shah marched south, spending nearly a year and seven months there (from May 1708 CE to December 1709 CE). Kam Bakhsh was defeated and captured.

Rajput and Sikh Rebellions In Rajasthan, Maharaja Ajitsinghji, Maharana Amarsingh, and Sawai Jaisinghji had again instigated a rebellion. To suppress them, Bahadur Shah returned to Rajasthan. The Rajput rulers once again formally accepted his suzerainty. As he was resolving the Rajput disturbances, troubling news arrived from Punjab.Vairagi Guru(sikh leader) Bandasingh Bahadur had looted Sirhind and attacked Sultanpur district, spreading terror in the surrounding regions. Hearing this, Bahadur Shah marched from Ajmer. The campaign against the Sikhs proved extremely challenging for him. Although the Sikhs were subdued outwardly, they were secretly preparing for future conflicts and waiting for a favorable opportunity. After suppressing the Sikhs, Bahadur Shah reached Lahore, where he fell ill and passed away.

Jahandarshah’s Accession and Death, and Farrukhsiyar’s Coronation Among Bahadur Shah’s four sons, a struggle for power ensued, culminating in the death of Azimushshan on the battlefield, paving the way for Jahandar Shah to ascend the throne. However, Jahandar Shah’s reign was short-lived. Azimushshan’s son Farrukhsiyar prepared for war against him. Within months, Jahandarshah was defeated near Agra in a battle, with the support of Hussain Ali Khan and Abdullah Khan, and Farrukhsiyar ascended Delhi's throne in 1712 CE .

Rise of the Sayyid Brothers Farrukhsiyar ruled from 1712 CE to 1719 CE , but he was merely a titular emperor. The real power and authority were in the hands of the Sayyid brothers, Sayyid Abdullah and Hussain Ali Khan. The royal court was no longer the emperor's court but that of the Sayyids, becoming a stage for rivalry among the three

dominant factions—Mughals, Iranians, and Turanis. Farrukhsiyar found it intolerable to endure the immense power of the Sayyids and his own helpless state. Tensions grew between him and the Sayyids, despite occasional reconciliation. Meanwhile, the Sikhs, Jats, and Rajputs continued to rebel. Wherever the Sayyid brothers went, they established apparent peace, but the conflicts between Farrukhsiyar and the Sayyids eroded imperial authority.

Farrukhsiyar's Execution by the Sayyids Farrukhsiyar's efforts to undermine the Sayyids persisted, alternating between open conflict and reconciliation. The nobles and officials of the empire were divided into two camps, one supporting Farrukhsiyar and the other the Sayyids. However, the power of the Sayyids steadily grew stronger. In 1719 CE , the Sayyids captured and executed Farrukhsiyar, openly establishing themselves as the de facto rulers of the empire.

Puppet Emperors The Sayyids installed Bedarbakht's son Bedar Dil on the throne under the title Rafiuddrajat. However, he abdicated within four months, and Rafi-ud-daulah, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, was enthroned. Three months later, he passed away, and Bahadur Shah's other grandson, Khujista- Akhtar, was crowned under the title Abdul Fatah Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Shah.

Decline of Imperial Power Under these political conditions, it became easy for distant provincial governors and rulers to disregard the emperor's authority. The Mughal dominance had already weakened during Aurangzeb's reign, but subsequent internal conflicts—such as the wars between Azam and Muazzam, Jahandar Shah and Azim-ush-Shan, and later between Farrukhsiyar andJahandarsha's war and finally rise of the Sayyids—further eroded the emperor's prestige. Rajput rulers still regarded receiving imperial titles and mansabs as a mark of honor, but they also realized that the grandeur and glory of the Mughals were now a thing of the past.

Marwar and the Sayyid Brothers - When Aurangzeb was entangled in the intense southern campaigns, Maharaja Ajitsinghji of Jodhpur killed the Mughal-appointed faujdar (official), dismantled the Mughal outposts, and had his entire palace cleansed with Ganga water, declaring Rathore independence. After Aurangzeb's death, Ajitsinghji neither supported Muazzam nor Azam. To punish him for this defiance, during Farrukhsiyar's reign, Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan attacked Marwar in 1714 CE , defeated Ajitsinghji, and compelled him to send his daughter in marriage to Farrukhsiyar.[409]

Jaipur and the Mughals Bahadur Shah doubted the loyalty of Sawai Jaisinghji. Encouraged by the emperor's displeasure, Sawai Jaisinghji's younger brother aspired to become the king himself. Taking advantage of this internal discord, the emperor dethroned Sawai Jaisinghji and made his brother the ruler. However, Maharaja Jaisinghji soon reclaimed his kingdom. Subsequently, Sawai Jaisinghji allied with Maharaja Ajitsinghji of Jodhpur and Maharana Amarsinghji of Udaipur, and the three noblemen began opposing the Mughal emperor. Despite their opposition, Sawai Jaisinghji employed diplomacy in his dealings. Therefore, when Emperor Muhammad Shah invited Sawai Jaisinghji to fight against Sayyid Abdullah Khan, Jaisinghji did not personally go but sent his minister along with 2,000 cavalrymen.

Rivalry Between Kota and Bundi After the battle of Jajav, the status of Bundi's Rao Raja Bhudhsinghji rose significantly in the Mughal court. Due to Ramsinghji's support for Azam, Bahadur Shah allowed Bhudhsinghji to annex Kota and Bundi. This led to intense rivalry and several battles between Kota and Bundi.Similarly,during the decline of the Mughal Empire, Mewar, Marwar, Jaipur, Bundi, and many other regions were engrossed in new ambitions and

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[409] (i) Tawarikh-e-Marwar - Muraridas, Vol. 2, Page 80.
(ii) Irvine: Later Mughals , Vol. 1, p. 290.

aspirations, each facing unique challenges and emerging problems.

Bahadur Shah's Wrath Against Kota After ascending the throne, Bahadur Shah rewarded and satisfied his friends and allies. Bhudhsinghji had fought valiantly on his side, and the emperor was greatly pleased with his bravery and loyalty. Earlier, for abandoning Aurangzeb’s side and joining him, Bahadur Shah had assisted Bhudhsinghji in reclaiming the Paatan district from Kota. On this occasion, Budhsinghji was honored with the title of Maharao Raja and granted permission to conquer 54 districts and merge them into the Bundi kingdom.[410] Bahadur- Shah was highly displeased with Bhimsinghji, the son and successor of Rao Ramsinghji.

A Legend - There is also a legend that Bahadurshah was unaware that Ramsinghji had a son. When Buddhsinghji claimed that Ramsinghji had only a daughter, the emperor ordered that the Kota kingdom be merged into Bundi. Whether this legend is true or not, it is undeniable that Buddhsinghji received the emperor’s approval to take over Kota. The more plausible and logical explanation seems to be that the emperor, angered by Bhimsinghji, granted Buddhsinghji permission to conquer Kota. The 54 districts that the emperor permitted Bhudhsinghji to conquer included Kota, Jhalrapatan, Gagron, Shahabad, Shergarh, Barod, Chechat, Chhabra, Gugera, Pachpahar, Dag, and others[411] It was a traditional Mughal policy regarding Hada Rajputs to sometimes assign a portion of Kota to Bundi and vice versa. This strategy often caused the royal families of Bundi and Kota to fight amongst themselves out of greed, ensuring that both continued to view the Mughal emperors as their protectors.

Bundi’s Attack on Kota During his campaign in Rajputana, Bahadur Shah took Bhudhsinghji with him. While stationed at Amer, Bhudhsinghji took two days leave to marry the sister of Sawai Jaisinghji. Once Amer and Jodhpur both

[410] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, pp. 2998-99.
[411] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, p. 2999

accepted the emperor’s suzerainty, Bhudhsinghji took another ten days leave to travel to Begun (Mewar) for his wedding.[412] From Begun, he sent a letter to his ministers in Bundi, instructing them to annex Kota and Bundi. At that time, a Vaishya leader (Businessmen) named Jodharaj and his advisor Gangaram Dhabhai were influential in Bundi. After deliberation, they dispatched an army under the leadership of Jogiram, son of Kanaksingh, to march against Kota.[413]

Defeat of Bundi’s Army Jogiram sent Bahadur Shah’s decree to Bhimsinghji, suggesting that it would be better to hand over Kota to Bundi without a fight. Considering the emperor's decree as binding and inviolable, Bhimsinghji sent Balakrishna Vyas and Fatehchand Kayastha to Bundi to negotiate peace. Both ministers met Bhudhsinghji’s mother, Nathawatji, and proposed that only Kota be left for Bhimsinghji, while the remaining territories could be annexed into Bundi. However, greed led the Rajmata (queen mother) to reject the proposal, which angered the ministers, and they returned to Kota to advise Bhimsinghji to prepare for war against Bundi. Bhimsinghji began preparing his army, while Jogiram also crossed the Chambal River and marched towards Kota. The two forces clashed at Kachaudikheda. Bhimsinghji displayed great skill in commanding his army.[414] Having fought in several battles in the south and holding the rank of *mansabdar* of 500 during Aurangzeb’s reign,[415]he had significant military experience. Jogiram, despite his bravery, could not match Bhimsinghji. He fought valiantly but ultimately fell in battle, grievously wounded by numerous injuries. With Jogiram’s death, Bundi’s army fled the battlefield.[416]

At this time, Bhudhsinghji was in the south with Bahadurshah, engaged in suppressing Prince Kambaksh's rebellion. When news of the defeat reached him, he was helpless, as leaving the emperor’s service and returning to

[412] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, pages 3000-10.
[413] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV , 3008
[414] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, pp. 3008-9
[415] Documents Samvat 1752 and 1760, Basta No. 21 Siga Mutafarriqat.
[416] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, p. 3009.

Bundi was impossible. His absence provided a significant advantage to Bhimsinghji. After defeating Bundi’s army, Bhimsinghji's reputation and influence grew significantly. He began strengthening and organizing his army for future self-defense.

Second Defeat of Bundi's Army The defeat brought great shame to Bundi's ministers, and they dispatched another army under the leadership of Gangaram Dhabhai. At this time, the minister of Bundi was HariRam Mahajan, who hired a Rohilla (Mercenary Soldiers)**:** Afghan, expertise in warfare and cavalry) named Ali Khan with 5,000 cavalrymen and sent him along with Gangaram. Seeing this formidable preparation, Bhimsinghji grew concerned and decided to employ a strategy of (Bhed-Niti) intrigue. He wrote a respectful letter to Gangaram Dhabhai, addressing him as *Baba* (grandfather)and offering him temptations, suggesting that he help make Bhimsinghji the king of Bundi. Tempted by the prospects, Gangaram fell for the ruse, believing that someone who addressed him as *Baba* could bring him greater benefits in the future. Consequently, Gangaram did not fight wholeheartedly, delayed action, and kept the army encamped in one place for almost two months.

During this period, Ali Khan’s salary for two months remained unpaid. The officials of Bundi had likely assumed that once Kota was conquered, there would be ample resources to pay Ali Khan. After two months, Ali Khan began demanding his dues, and when his demands were not met, he captured Gangaram in his camp and sent a message to Minister Hari Ram, stating that Gangaram would only be released upon full payment of his overdue salary.

Thus, by creating discord within Bundi's army, Bhimsinghji managed to defeat them with strategic brilliance. Poor Gangaram remained Ali Khan’s prisoner for a long time until, on Bhudhsinghji’s orders, Hari Ram paid Ali Khan’s salary and secured Gangaram's release[417] In this way, Bhimsinghji twice defeated Bundi’s army and successfully defended his kingdom.

[417] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3022-23.

Permission from Farrukhsiyar to Invade Bundi When Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne, the political landscape shifted. He had gained the throne with the help of the Sayyid brothers. Bhudhsinghji had neither supported Farrukhsiyar nor Jahandarshah, but it was rumored that he leaned towards Jahandar-Shah. After Bahadur Shah's death, Bhudhsinghji, feeling insecure and shelterless, led a peculiar and restless life after adopting Kaul Mat (particular belief).

When Farrukhsiyar issued decrees to all Rajput rulers, summoning them to Delhi, Bhudhsinghji negligently failed to comply, angering the emperor. Maharaja Rajsinghji of Kishangarh, Bhimsinghji's father-in-law, further instigated Farrukhsiyar against Bhudhsinghji. Raj Singhji bore animosity towards Bhudhsinghji because he had refused to marry the princess of Kishangarh. Seizing the opportunity, Rajsinghji incited Farrukhsiyar further, prompting the emperor to grant Bhimsinghji permission to seize Bundi from Bhudhsinghji.[418]

Bhimsinghji's Attack on Bundi – When Buddhasinghji was at his maternal uncle's place, Bhimsinghji launched an attack on Bundi on Phalguna Krishna Chaturdashi (14th day of the dark fortnight)Samvat 1770. Bhimsinghji had already spent a lot of money fighting Bundi's army twice before, so his heart was burning with a desire for revenge. During the attack on Bundi, he brought along 20,000 select soldiers who were ready to sacrifice their lives for him. After crossing the Chambal River, Bhimsinghji laid siege to Bundi. At that time, Buddhasinghji was still at his Mama's (Maternal uncle's house).[419] Upon hearing the news, he became even more anxious and started spending his time in religious devotion. Then, his priest, Gajmukh, felt that it was not appropriate to stay with him and left to defend Bundi, considering it his duty. Gajmukh entered the city through the western gate and began firing artillery from his residence near the southern gate. He fought with such patience and bravery that Bhimsinghji started to get worried.

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[418] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant p. 3040-43.
[419] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3043-44.

When Bhimsinghji saw that the battle was not progressing in his favor and there was a risk of futile deaths, he resorted to the policy of deceit. He sent a message to Gajmukh, saying that "You are revered by both me and Buddhasinghji. You should stop the fighting and come to meet me." Gajmukh, falling into this trap and driven by greed, went over to Bhimsinghji. As soon as he reached the camp, Bhimsinghji captured him. With no brave commander left to oppose him, Bhimsinghji broke down the gates and entered the city, establishing his control.[420]

When this news reached Bhuddsinghji, Thakur Salamsingh of Karwar told him that it would be better to die fighting to defend his capital than to watch his defeat. However, Bhuddsinghji did not give up his indifference. Salamsingh, however, left and went to Karwar to prepare for facing Bhimsinghji. Bhuddsinghji left Surathpur and headed towards Mewar, where he met his brother-in-law, Sawai Jaisinghji, in Malwa. Meanwhile, Gajmukh, having escaped from Bhimsinghji's captivity, arrived in Malwa and Bhuddsinghji stripped him of all his powers, appointing Shivdas in his place. But Bhuddsinghji's anger was futile now, as Bhimsinghji had firmly established his control over Bundi. One of Bhuddsinghji's queens had gone to Begun, another to Amer, and a third to Bhinai. Most of the women and the nobility had taken refuge in Begun with Thakur Devisingh.

Bhimsinghji's Attack on Karwar –When Bhimsinghji saw that Salamsingh was preparing to face him in Karwar, he attacked Karwar and, while strengthening his control over the route, laid siege to Karwar. The siege lasted for a long time. Salamsingh, however, continued to defend his fort with patience. Bhimsinghji bombarded the fort with such fierce cannon fire that the walls of the fort were breached in many places, and Karwar town looked like it was on fire. This fiery bombardment continued for 18 days. It seemed that Bhimsinghji was about to gain control of Karwar. During this time, by coincidence, a sanyasi reached Bhimsinghji's camp. His name was Sukhsingh, and he was the feudal lord of

[420] Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, pp. 3044-45.

Mukhamsingoth Chauhan, who had adopted sanyas (renounced worldly life,) passing his estate and property to his son. Bhimsinghji respectfully welcomed the sanyasi, vacated his seat for him, and joined his hands in reverence, asking what his command was. Sukhsingh instructed Bhimsinghji to lift the siege of Karwar and return. Bhimsinghji, being a ruler of religious disposition, immediately accepted the advice and returned to Bundi. Had Sukh Singh not arrived at that moment, Bhimsinghji would have certainly captured Karwar.[421]

Maharana Sangramsinghji's Message and the Battle of Dhanavde – After Bhimsinghji left Karwar under Sukh Singh's advice and returned to Bundi, there arose confusion among the people, and it was believed that Salamsingh had won. However, Bhimsinghji did not concern himself with this. At this time, Buddhisinghji was in Malwa with his brother-in-law, Sawai Jaysinghji. Sawai Jaysinghji was continuously worried about how to win Bundi back for Buddhisinghji. After thinking it over, he personally wrote a letter to Maharana Sangramsinghji, requesting him to speak with Bhimsinghji and help return Buddhisinghji's kingdom. "Ap kripya karke Bhimsinghji ko samjhaaven aur Buddhisinghji ko apna desh wapas dilawaen. Iska main bahut ahsaan maanunga. Main jaanta hoon ki Bhimsinghji aapka kehana maante hain."(He expressed that he would be deeply grateful, as he knew Bhimsinghji would listen to Maharana Sangramsinghji's advice). Maharana Sangramsinghji considered the letter, and out of respect for Sawai Jaysinghji, sent his uncle Takhtsingh to Bhimsinghji with the message that"Yadi aap Bundi chhodkar wapas Kota chale jaayenge to mere sir par bada ahsaan hoga." ("If you return to Kota instead , it would be a great favor to me.")

Bhimsinghji gave a sincere and reasoned response, saying, "Buddhisinghji is not fit to rule; he cannot control Bundi. If I leave Bundi, it will fall into the hands of the Muslims." When Salamsingh realized Bhimsinghji would not abandon Bundi, he began plundering the region, attacking the outposts that Bhimsinghji had set up. After looting, he reached

[421] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, pp. 3046-48.

Jaitgarh near Bundi. Bhimsinghji sent Dhabhai Bhagwandas with an army to stop him. A fierce battle took place at Dhanavde, where many of Salamsingh's descendants and several Mevatis were killed, while Dhabhai Bhagwandas suffered multiple injuries. Bhimsinghji emerged victorious.[422]

Rule Over Bundi –In Samvat 1770, Bhimsinghji conquered Bundi, sending the treasury, clothes, jewelry, and utensils to Kota. During this time, the Kesariya flag and Nakkare (a type of musical instrument) that were gifted by the Mughal emperor Jahangir to Raoratan were brought to Kota. Besides the fort of Bundi, the city was also looted, with cattle such as cows, bulls, buffaloes, horses, and camels being taken. These animals were auctioned off in Kota, and many were bought by Kunwar Arjunsinghji and other officials.[423]

Bhimsinghji's Visit to Udaipur and Criticism in the Play – A few months later, in Udaipur, Maharana Sangramsinghji's mother, Devkunwar (daughter of Raw Sabalsingh of Bedla), had built a grand temple of Vaidyanath near the Pichola Lake in the village of Seesarma, and its consecration ceremony was due. On this occasion, the Rajmata had arranged for Chaandi ki chauthi tula (Silver offering) and spent millions of rupees on the ceremony. Maharao Bhimsinghji was also invited to the event.[424] Bhimsinghji stayed in Udaipur for several days. One day, both Maharana Sangramsinghji and Bhimsinghji were watching a play in the palace. During this performance, an actor, in the course of the play, criticized Bhimsinghji and praised Salamsingh. Hearing this, Bhimsinghji became very angry and he immediately took leave from Maharana Sangramsinghji.[425]

Second Attack on Karwar – After returning from Udaipur, Bhimsinghji sent a Rathore named Jaysingh with an army of 20,000 to attack Karwar. Jaysingh maintained the

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422 Vanshabhaskar, Chaturthabhag, Prishth 3047-48

423 (i) Document Samvat 1770, Seega Mutafarrikat.
(ii). Tod, Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 557.

424 (i)Praise of the temple of Vaidyanath, episode 5. Appendix 25
(ii) History of Rajputana, Vol. III, p. 930. Appendix 25

425 Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, p. 3048-49.

siege of Karwar for a month, but he could not capture the fort. Eventually, after admitting defeat, he proposed a truce to Salamsingh. Jaysingh arranged for his daughter's marriage to Salamsingh's son, lifted the siege, and returned. The fort of Karwar was not so strong that even an army of 20,000 could not capture it. It was the fate of Salamsingh that Bhimsinghji made two attempts to capture Karwar, and both times he was unable to succeed.[426]

Kunwar Arjunsinghji with Hussain Ali– After Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne, Hussain Ali left with a large army to suppress the rebellion in the south. Kunwar Arjunsinghji, the son of Bhimsinghji, also accompanied him. Hussain Ali made Aurangabad his headquarters and established peace in the south. Kunwar Arjunsinghji stayed with him in Aurangabad until the month of Shravan in Samvat 1773.[427]

Buddhisinghji Regains Bundi – Bhimsinghji had a special friendship with Sayyids Hussain Alikhan, who was at this time in the south. Taking advantage of his absence, Sawai Jaysinghji started making efforts to return Bundi to Buddhisinghji. He informed Farrukhsiyar that Buddhisinghji had not attended the royal court upon receiving the imperial edict because of the deep grief over Bahadur Shah's death. He suggested that if the royal edict was sent to Buddhisinghji now, he would immediately present himself at the court. Farrukhsiyar accepted Sawai Jaysinghji's advice and decided to restore Bundi to Buddhisinghji. Nawab Dilawar Khan was sent with the royal army to establish the Emperor's authority over Bundi, and Sawai Jaysinghji also sent his Kamdar(agent) along with him.

Dilawar Khan easily established control over Bundi and legally annexed it into the Mughal Empire. He then immediately returned it to Buddhisinghji. The posts that Bhimsinghji had established at various places were removed. In Samvat 1772, Dilawar Khan reinstated Buddhisinghji in the

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426 Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3049-50

427 Document Samvat 1773, Siga Mutafarriqat

state of Bundi. Thus, although Bhimsinghji returned the territory he had conquered, he did not return the parganas of Baran and Maoo,[428] which had been in constant dispute between Bundi and Kota since the time of Rao Madhosinghji, and which were under Kota's control at this time.

Baran and Maoo Given to Buddhisinghji – Sawai Jaysinghji wanted to give the regions of Baran and Maoo to his brother-in-law, Buddhisinghji. To achieve this, he came from Malwa to Hadoi. He met with the chiefs of Indargarh, Karwar, Balvan, Khatoli, and others, and decided that he would go to Delhi with Buddhisinghji to request the Emperor to return Baran and Maoo to him from Bhimsinghji. Accordingly, upon reaching Delhi, Sawai Jaysinghji cleverley requested Farrukhsiyar, saying that Bhimsinghji and Buddhisinghji had been weakening each other through continuous conflict, and requested that their mutual enmity be resolved and peace be restored. Hearing this, Emperor Farrukhsiyar sent a royal edict to Bhimsinghji, instructing him to meet with Sawai Jaysinghji, reconcile with Buddhisinghji, and return the lands that had been taken from him by royal command. [429]

As soon as Bhimsinghji received the royal edict, he became fearful and went to Sawai Jaysinghji for a discussion. Sawai Jaysinghji proposed that Bhimsinghji return Baran and Maoo to Buddhisinghji and also share a meal with them from the same platter. Bhimsinghji knew that both Sawai Jaysinghji and Farrukhsiyar were in agreement. Since his ally, Sayyid Hussain Ali, was at this time in the far south, Bhimsinghji deemed it wise to immediately comply with the Emperor’s command. Therefore, he returned the parganas of Baran and Maoo to Buddhisinghji and shared a meal with him and Sawai Jaysinghji from the same platter. This event took place in Samvat 1773, and a few months later, Sayyid Hussain Ali returned from the south.[430]

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[428] Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, pp. 3052-53.
[429] Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part p. 3054-58.
[430] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3059- Appendix 25

Battle between Bhimsinghji and Buddhisinghji near Delhi (Samvat 1774) – After Farrukhsiyar was deposed from the throne and imprisoned, Bhimsinghji advised the Sayyid brothers that Sawai Jaysingh was an ally of the Emperor, and Buddhisinghji was his brother-in-law. Therefore, they would likely join forces to restore the Emperor to the throne. Bhimsinghji suggested that Buddhisinghji should be eliminated at any cost. The Sayyid accepted this advice and launched an attack on Buddhisinghji's camp, which was located near the city.

Along with Sayyid Hussain Ali, Ajitsinghji, Bhimsinghji, and Rajsinghji were also present. A fierce battle took place between the Sayyid and Buddhisinghji. Buddhisinghji fled through the Lahori Gate, but his samant(official), Jaitsingh and the chief minister, Jodhraj, fought valiantly but were killed.[431]

Khafikhana has described this battle differently. He writes that on 22nd February 1719 CE (3rd Rabi' al-Akhir), under pressure from the Sayyids, Farrukhsiyar ordered Raja Jaysingh and Buddhisingh to leave Delhi and return to their respective kingdoms. In compliance with this order, Raja Jaysingh left Delhi and camped at Sarai Sahil. On the same day, a battle took place between Raja Bhimsingh and Raja Buddhisingh, (who were cousins and had been in conflict over the throne of Bundi). Buddhisinghji's diwan and many Rajputs were killed. Bhimsingh emerged victorious, and Buddhisinghji, with the surviving soldiers, went to Sarai Allahwardikhana to seek refuge under his ally, Raja Jaysingh.[432]

The battle described above is mentioned in the *Vanshbhaskar* in Samvat 1774, but this is not reliable, as Farrukhsiyar’s deposition from the throne in Samvat 1776 (February 1719 CE) is uncontested based on several Persian historical accounts. Khafikhana’s statement about a battle occurring one day before Farrukhsiyar’s deposition also seems unreliable, as when the Sayyid brothers were attempting to dethrone Farrukhsiyar and take control of the royal power, Bhimsinghji did not have the opportunity to waste his strength

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[431] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3065-67

[432] (i) Khafikhan : Muntakhab-Ul-Lubbab, Page 806.
(ii) Irvine: Later Mughals, Vol. 1, p. 376.

fighting Buddhisinghji. Therefore, it can be concluded from the descriptions of this battle in *Vanshbhaskar* and *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* that this battle must have taken place after Farrukhsiyar was deposed. Buddhisinghji must have been assessing the situation at that time, waiting to see whether Farrukhsiyar or the Sayyids would ultimately prevail. He must have been stationed with his army near Delhi. After Farrukhsiyar was captured, the Sayyids likely decided that Buddhisinghji should be driven out of Delhi, or if possible, killed. There was already enmity between Bhimsinghji and Buddhisinghji, so the Sayyids probably sent some of their forces to encourage Bhimsinghji to fight Buddhisinghji.

Indrasingh's Meeting with Sawai Jaysinghji – After defeating Indrasingh, a noble from Shivpur Baroda, Bhimsinghji annexed his land into his own kingdom, leaving Indrasingh wandering aimlessly. When Indrasingh learned that Sawai Jaysinghji was opposed to Bhimsinghji because of Buddhisinghji, he went to Sawai Jaysinghji seeking refuge and support. At this time, Sawai Jaysinghji was based in Toda. After his defeat near Delhi, Buddhisinghji also came to meet Sawai Jaysinghji in Toda. Here, Indrasingh spoke to both the nobles, seeking their assistance.[433]

However, Buddhisinghji himself was facing his own problem. He had already been defeated by Bhimsinghji, and now there was a real possibility of Bhimsinghji attacking Bundi with the help of the Sayyids. Sawai Jaisinghji's position was also not secure. The Sayyid brothers viewed him as a supporter of the emperor's side, and thus pressured Farrukhsiyar to send Jaisinghji away from Delhi. Now that Farrukhsiyar had been executed and the control of the empire was in the hands of the Sayyids.Therefore, Sawai Jaisinghji was troubled and apprehensive. However, compared to Buddhisinghji, he was much more politically astute and skilled in warfare. Despite this, Sawai Jai Singh was unable to provide any substantial help to Indrasingh.

[433] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3070.

Preparation for Attacks on Bundi and Amer, and Bhimsinghji's Renunciation – Sawai Jai Singh was a supporter of the rightful emperor, opposed to the Sayyids. Buddhisinghji now lacked both wisdom and courage. He was a follower of Sawai Jai Singh, and with his help, he had regained Bundi. Therefore, Buddhisinghji was very grateful to him. The Sayyids were fearful that if Sawai Jai Singh and Buddhisinghji allied, they might stir up rebellion. Thus, they consulted Maharaja Ajitsinghji and Bhimsinghji on this matter and ordered them to return to their respective territories, raise armies, and attack both Jai Singh and Buddhisinghji, eliminating them to ensure their future dominance. Upon receiving this order, Maharaja Ajitsinghj ireturned to his territory and began preparing for an attack on Amer. As Maharao Bhimsinghji was returning from his farewell to the Sayyids, he suddenly felt a deep sense of renunciation when he reached Braj Bhoomi. In Vrindavan, he took Deeksha (initiation) from Goswami Ji and donated silver in the ritual of "Tuladan." He adopted the name Krishnadas and began calling himself a servant of Brijnathji.

The name of Kota was changed to Nandgaon, and Shergarh was renamed Barsana. Bhimsinghji donated large amounts of food to Brahmins and gave extensive charity in Braj Bhoomi. He also gave the town of Kog Nagar to Brijnathji and retired to lead a life of solitude in Braj Bhoomi.[434]

Salamsingh's Attack on Kota – After Bhimsinghji spent 15 days in deep meditation, various rumors began to circulate about him. Some people claimed that he was ill, while others said that he had passed away. Bhimsinghji remained engrossed in devotion and did not send any updates about himself to Kota. As a result, the officials in Kota started to believe the rumors and thought that perhaps Bhimsinghji had died. In the 18th century, due to the lack of communication methods, such rumors often spread. Consequently, people in Kota became anxious, fearing that the army of Bundi might attack. In this fearful state, Kota's officials began making preparations for defense. Cannons were set up at the

[434] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3071

Shaharpanah (city gates), and soldiers got ready to face any enemy. Just as these preparations were being made, the officials' fears were confirmed. Salamsingh, the Diwan (administrative position) of Bundi at the time, gathered his forces and marched towards Kota, plundering the kingdom. Buddhisinghji, after regaining Bundi with the emperor's help, had appointed Salamsingh to this position. While Buddhisinghji was wandering,but Salamsingh had established an excellent administration in Bundi.[435]This was the reason why the officials of Kota were so terrified by Salamsingh's attack. The defense of Kota was taken under the command of Aap Ajabsinghji of Koyla, who made all necessary preparations to confront Salamsingh, and the shaharpanah's (city wall) gates were tightly shut. Salamsingh, however, deemed it unwise from a military perspective to launch a direct attack on Kota city, so he resorted to plundering the surrounding regions. At this time, the officials of Kota faced a grave crisis. The royal army was effectively leaderless. While Aap Ajabsinghji's courage ensured the city's defense was managed, the countryside continued to be devastated by Salamsingh's plundering, raising fears that if the countryside was completely destroyed, the city's defense could not be sustained for long.

Bhimsinghji's Campaign When Bhimsinghji learned of Salamsingh's looting in the Kota region, he was filled with indignation. Leaving his devotional hymns and spiritual pursuits, he once again took up the sword to defend his kingdom and punish the oppressor. Marching swiftly from Gokul, he soon reached Kota, only to find that cannons were mounted on every bastion of the city wall, trenches were fortified jamboor(Embrasures), and strict orders were in place to prevent anyone from entering or exiting the gates. Bhimsinghji arrived at Kota at night. Mistaking him for Salamsingh due to the presence of his army, the gatekeepers refused to open the gates. Panic spread among the city's defenders, who believed that Salamsingh had launched an assault.

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[435] Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, pp. 3071-72.

When Bhimsinghji gave strong assurances to the gatekeepers,Aap Ajabsinghji was summoned. He recognized Maharao Bhimsinghji's voice, opened the gates, and welcomed him. The arrival of Bhimsinghji brought great satisfaction to the town people, who were reassured that the fort could not be taken. Bhimsinghji was a vigilant soldier who understood the importance of timing in warfare. Therefore, he reached the fort at night and launched an attack on Salamsingh early the next morning.At that time, Salamsingh was looting and plundering the Auton region near the fort. When Bhimsinghji arrived there, he saw that Salamsingh had a very large army. However, Bhimsinghji was not one to be intimidated by the enemy's strength. He resolved to fight Salamsingh with all his might. A fierce battle took place near Auton the next day, in which Salamsingh was defeated and fled towards Bundi.[436]

Bhimsinghji's Attack on Bundi - Even after defeating Salamsingh and securing his kingdom, Bhimsinghji was not satisfied. He was aware that Jaisinghji and Bhudhsinghji were conspiring against him, and that Indrasingh, a noble from Shivpuri-Baroda, was also staying with Sawai Jaisinghji, waiting for a favorable opportunity. There was concern that Salamsingh might attack the fort again when given the chance. For this reason, after achieving victory near Auton, Bhimsinghji immediately pursued Salamsingh and launched an attack on Bundi. Upon reaching Bundi, Salamsingh organized the city's defense and ordered all gates to be closed. Bhimsinghji surrounded the city and began bombarding it with cannonballs. For some time, Salamsingh resisted Bhimsinghji's assault. However,having already been defeated once by him, Salamsingh's army lacked the enthusiasm and morale to fight. After a brief attempt to defend the city, Salamsingh abandoned Bundi and fled to Jhalai, where he sought refuge with Sawai Jaisinghji. Bhimsinghji entered Bundi as a victor, looted the city, set it ablaze, and on Phalgun Shukla 7, Samvat 1776, established his governance by declaring his authority. After consolidating his rule over the entire Bundi region and

[436] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3072-74.

taking a significant portion of the loot back with him, he returned to Kota.[437]

Threat from Salamsingh - Despite these setbacks, Salamsingh did not lose his resolve. While stationed at Jhalai, he continued trying to reestablish Bhudhsinghji's rule over Bundi. Occasionally, he entered the Bundi kingdom and engaged in looting whenever he found an opportunity. Salamsingh was not an ordinary man; he was both brave and a skilled administrator. Therefore, Bhimsinghji remained vigilant about his activities.

Repeatedly sending armies against Salamsingh was neither feasible nor guaranteed success. Even after establishing his rule over Bundi, Bhimsinghji remained concerned about Salamsingh. To suppress him completely, Bhimsinghji sought the assistance of the Sayyids. At the time, the Sayyid brothers needed Bhimsinghji's cooperation and support to subdue Chin-Kulich-Khan, Nizam-ul-Mulk.The Sayyids dispatched Dilawar Ali Khan and Narwar ruler GajSingh with a large army. After Bhimsinghji's forces merged with this army, their combined strength became formidable, capable of successfully confronting even 40,000 soldiers. Dilawar Khan, being a Bakshi (military or administrative officer) of the royal army, had selected skilled soldiers and horsemen to accompany him. This preparation indicated how seriously the Sayyid brothers regarded Salamsingh's strength. This powerful force was not sent to engage Salamsingh in battle but to intimidate and threaten him.[438]The strategy succeeded, and Salamsingh abandoned his attempts to reclaim Bundi. Bhimsinghji was thereafter firmly recognized as the ruler of Bundi without opposition.

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[437] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, pp. 3074-75

[438] Khafikhan, pp. 844-851.

15
Bhimsinghji And The Mughal Court

Bahadur Shah's Anger Toward Bhimsinghji After ascending the throne, Bahadurshah expressed his displeasure with Bhimsinghji. The imperial demands were increased, Kunwar Arjun singhji was possibly removed from the Faujdari of Mangrol, and a substantial tribute was imposed.[439] Even this did not satisfy Bahadur Shah, who granted Bhudhsinghji permission to merge Kota's rule with Bundi.During his second campaign on Rajputana, Bahadur Shah passed through the Kota state while returning from the south ,after defeating Kam Baksh.On April 5, 1710 CE , he entered the Kota state through the Dara ki Naal and left on April 28, passing through the Lakheri Valley. Thus, Bahadur Shah remained in the Kota state for twenty-three days.[440]

At this time, Bhimsinghji requested Bahadur Shah to reduce the burden of taxes on many parganas in his state, refrain from looting the villages along the king's route, exempt the peshkashi (tribute), and allow Kunwar Arjunsinghji to remain as the faujdar (military governor) of Mangrol.[441] It is unclear to what extent Bahadur Shah accepted these requests.

Harshness in the Collection of Jijya (Tax)- During Bahadur Shah's reign, the collection of Jijya (a tax levied on non-Muslims) from the parganas of the Kota state was carried out with great strictness. The residents of the town of Auton had even prayed to Bhimsinghji for protection against this tax, but there was little he could do. He merely replied that if the surrounding areas were paying the Jijya, the people of Auton should also pay it. In reality, the Jijiya was not completely abolished, but during the last years of Aurangzeb's rule, it was

439 Document Samvat 1769, Basta(bag) No. 28
440 Kamabarkhan: Tazkirat Assalateen Chagataya
441 Document Samvat 1769, Basta(bag) No. 28

not consistently collected. It would be collected from some regions and not from others. In the Kota state, it seems that Bahadur Shah might have issued specific orders for stricter enforcement of this tax.[442]

Jahandarshah and Bhimsinghji After the death of Bahadur Shah, Jahandarshah ascended the throne. He ruled for about a year. Bhudhsinghji had assisted in placing him on the throne and helping him achieve victory, and as a result, Jahandarshah had a hostile eye on Kota. However, he recognized Bhimsinghji as the ruler of Kota and issued royal decrees in both Bhimsinghji's name and Kunwar Arjunsinghji's name. It is likely that one decree recognized Bhimsinghji as the ruler of Kota, while the other recognized Arjunsinghji as the Faujdar (military governor) of Mangrol[443]

Jahandarshah also instructed Bhimsinghji to collect the outstanding dues. At that time, the dues from the parganas of Kota, Sangod, Barod, Awan, Ghati, Ghatoli, and Khatakheri amounted to 2,18,63,112 dam (approximately 5,46,575 rupees). This amount was owed from just seven parganas,[444]indicating that Bahadur Shah had significantly increased the taxes from the parganas of Kota. Jahandar Shah ruled for only 10 months and 25 days and died on February 11th, 1713 CE . After his death, Farrukhsiyar, with the support of the Sayyid brothers, ascended the throne.

Bhimsinghji's Respect at the Mughal Court Both Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah were displeased with Bhimsinghji. When Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne, Bhimsinghji had no expectations of his favor. Therefore, from a political perspective, Bhimsinghji found it more useful and beneficial to support the Sayyid brothers. Initially, Farrukhsiyar was a puppet in the hands of the Sayyid brothers.

The Sayyid brothers had the power to either honor or dishonor anyone through the emperor's orders. The favor of the Sayyid brothers was considered the favor of the emperor,

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442 Document Samvat 1767
443 Document Samvat 1769.
444 Document Samvat 1769

and their displeasure was seen as the emperor's displeasure. By aligning himself with the Sayyid brothers, Bhimsinghji gained much respect at the Mughal court. He was appointed as a Panjahazari Mansabdar (a high-ranking officer with a rank of 5,000 soldiers) and was granted the Jagir (land grant) of Bundi state, including the area from Mandlegarh to Bundi, as well as Khinchivade and Umatavade.[445] Additionally,the Gagron Fort was entrusted to him.[446] As a result, Bhimsinghji's respect and status at the Mughal court grew significantly, and he began to be regarded with greater honor by other rulers. His esteem at the royal court became widely discussed, and all the regional rulers began to view him with greater reverence.[447]

Intrigue at the Mughal Court - Relationship between Farrukhsiyar and the Sayyid brothers remained cordial, for For 15 days, after Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne. However, soon differences began to emerge. The Sayyid brothers no longer consulted Farrukhsiyar or sought his approval for important decisions such as appointments to high positions, confiscation of the property of Jahandar Shah’s courtiers, and other significant matters. Due to the sudden rise of the Sayyid brothers, many prominent courtiers in the Mughal court grew hostile towards them. However, the Sayyid brother’s influence was so strong that they formed a powerful faction at the court.At this point, two factions began to emerge in the Mughal court. The Sayyid brother’s faction included Maharaja Ajitsinghji and Maharao Bhimsinghji, while the faction supporting Farrukhsiyar consisted of Maharaja Jaisinghji and Bhudhsinghji.

Conflict Between the Sayyids and Farrukhsiyar There was sometimes conflict and sometimes reconciliation between the Sayyids and Farrukhsiyar. However, Farrukhsiyar constantly complained that the Sayyids had taken complete

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445 Tod : Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 555

446 Farrukhsiyar's decree (in the old office)

447 Dillīśammanit Bāhubīryyaḥ. Vaidyanātha (Udaipur) ke Mandir ki Praśasti,5." ("The one whose mighty strength was honored by the emperor of Delhi)Vaidyanatha Temple (Udaipur) , Section 5.")

control of the administration. On the other hand, the Sayyids believed that Farrukhsiyar had ascended the throne only with their support and that, therefore, running the administration was their rightful duty. Due to this disagreement, mutual animosity between the two sides grew steadily.

In the hope of resolving this, the emperor called Maharaja Jaisinghji to Delhi for private consultation. Maharaja Ajitsinghji, who was Farrukhsiyar's father-in-law, hoped that he would support Farrukhsiyar in times of difficulty. While Ajitsinghji went to Delhi, he refused to meet the emperor privately, believing it was in his best interest to remain aligned with the Sayyids.[448]Maharao Bhimsinghji continued to stand by the Sayyids and frequently corresponded with Maharaja Ajitsinghji.[449]It seems likely that Bhimsinghji had advised Ajitsinghji to refuse a private meeting with Farrukhsiyar.

Intrigue Against Bhimsinghji in the Royal Court As soon as Sayyid Hussain Ali left for the south, Farrukhsiyar began plotting against his brother Abdullah. The emperor became more and more involved in hunting expeditions and began considering various strategies to eliminate Abdullah.

Abdullah's Awareness and Farrukhsiyar's Actions Meanwhile, Abdullah realized Farrukhsiyar’s intentions and, becoming cautious, began strengthening his resources for self-defense. During this time, on March 20, 1716 CE, Farrukhsiyar sent a decree summoning Raja Jaisinghji to Delhi. At that time, Jaisinghji was the Subedar (Governor) of Malwa. He left from there and, after meeting many Jagirdars (landholders) in Bundi, along with Bhudhsinghji, reached Sarai Alawardi Khan near Delhi on June 14. Two days later, a senior noble of the emperor, Sham-sud-Daula, welcomed them. Farrukhsiyar received Sawai Jaisinghji with great pleasure and accorded him significant respect. They stayed in Delhi for almost two months.

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448 (i) Irvine : Later Mughals , Vol. 1, pp. 348-51.
(ii) Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, p. 3050

449 Papers Samvat 1776, expenses of the qasids(messengers)

During this period, Jaisinghji shared with Farrukhsiyar the story of Bhudhsinghji's distress, explaining that the Sayyids had instigated Bhimsinghji against him, causing Bhudhsinghji to be deposed from his state and forced to wander without protection. Only the emperor could provide him the assistance he needed.[450]Farrukhsiyar realized that he needed Jai singhji's help to strengthen his position, and he probably also understood that Bhudhsinghji could be useful when the time came. When Ajitsinghji had refused a private meeting, Farrukhsiyar had already realized that Bhimsinghji was allied with the Sayyids and that the royal faction would never gain his support. As a result, Farrukhsiyar accepted Jaisinghji's counsel and, with the royal army, immediately dispatched Dilawar Khan and the Diwan (chief minister) of Sawai Jaisinghji to take control of Bundi, which was then handed over to Bhudhsinghji.[451]

Preparations of the Sayyids Against Farrukhsiyar

When Sayyid Hussain Ali received the news in Aurangabad that Farrukhsiyar was strengthening his power and that Sayyid Abdullah's life was in danger, he set out towards Delhi with an army of 25,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and a large artillery. Among his forces was Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa, who brought a large Maratha army along with him. Upon hearing about their movement, Farrukhsiyar became terrified. He sent a decree to Hussain Ali, urging him to stay in the south. [452]However, Hussain Ali continued his march towards Delhi without delay.

As his army passed through Mewar, there was some initial plundering, but it was soon stopped. However, many villages in Jaipur were looted, and even women and children were taken by the soldiers. Jaipur sent envoys to Hussain Ali, but their offer was refused, and the looting continued. As Hussain Ali's large army approached Delhi, Farrukhsiyar became greatly alarmed, though he still believed that the

[450] (i) Khafikhan-Vol. 2, Page 771.
(ii). Mirza Muhammad-Tazkira or Ibratnama, pp. 260-75, 293-302.
(iii) Kamawarkhanam: Tajkirat Assalatin Chagataiya, pp. 163-65.

[451] Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Bhang, pp. 3052-53

[452] Khafikhan - Muntakhab-ul-Lubbab, pp. 794-803.

danger might pass. Meanwhile, Hussain Ali's forces continued their advance, and Sayyid Abdullah was also strengthening his own position.

Bhimsinghji Aligns with the Sayyids -Sayyid Abdullah now firmly secured the support of Maharao Bhimsinghji and Maharaja Ajitsinghji, who had already been sympathetic to the Sayyids' cause, and now they became his steadfast allies.[453]

On 16th February 1719 CE, Hussein Ali's army reached Vizierabad, two kos (3 Kilometers) from Delhi. Outside the city, the soldiers ruthlessly looted fields, villages, and shops. Hussein Ali, disregarding Farrukhsiyar, continued to sound the drums and marched directly to his residence. This behavior created panic throughout the city, and all the citizens awaited the impending doom with fearful hearts. Farrukhsiyar was so terrified that he paid no attention to Hussein Ali's rude behavior and instead sent daily gifts of betel, fruit, and perfume, along with sweet messages, in an attempt to appease him. Hussein Ali's arrogance grew so much that he responded with harsh answers. Many prominent nobles began to side with Hussein Ali Khan, and Farrukhsiyar's power quickly weakened.[454]

Maharao Bhimsinghji joined the conspiracy – On 19th February 1719 CE , Maharao Bhimsinghji, Maharaja Ajitsinghji, and Qutub-ul Mulk and Hussein-Ali-Khan met. They had long discussions, and the plans were set in motion. Hussein-Ali was most fearful of the Mughals, as they were great supporters of Farrukhsiyar. The leader of the Mughal party was Muhammad Amin-Khan. It was a great misfortune for Farrukhsiyar that even Muhammad-Amin-Khan was dissatisfied with him. On the same day, he approached Hussein-Ali and proposed that Farrukhsiyar be deposed from the throne. Hussain-Ali became fully confident in his power and realized that the emperor's position was extremely

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[453] Mirza Muhammad : Tazkira, p. 445

[454] (i) Mirza Muhammad : Tazkira, Page 447.
(ii). Kamawarkhana: Tajkirat Aslatin Chagataiya, p. 189.
(iii) Khafikhan — Muntakhb-ul-Lubbab p. 804

weak.[455] He also spread the rumor that he had a prince with him who was the rightful heir to the throne. This caused Farukhsiyar to panic even more. The emperor's officers started coming and going daily to negotiate a peace treaty. However, Hussain Ali was not at all ready to enter into any treaty. Maharaja Jaisinghji clearly told Farukhsiyar that it was impossible to make a treaty with Hussain Ali. He said that if the emperor wished, he would attack the Sayyids with his twenty thousand soldiers, and as long as there was breath in his body, he would fight. Jaisinghji was confident that many other nobles would also support the emperor. He wanted that even if the emperor lost, cowardice should not be shown at such a time.[456]

Farewell to Maharaja Jai Singhji: Farukhsiyar lacked the courage to accept Maharaja Jai Singhji's proposal. He still hoped that the Sayyids would turn in his favor, so he continued to attempt to negotiate with them. Hussain-Ali sent word to Farukhsiyar that first, he should send away Raja Jaisinghji and Rao Buddhsingh from their states, after which talks about a treaty could begin. Qutu-bul-Mulk also advised the emperor to accept this demand.Thus, on 22nd February, Farukhsiyar personally wrote orders for Jai Singh and Buddh Singh, stating that the next day would be auspicious for their departure and they should leave. He also sent them a farewell robe and informed them that there was no need for them to personally seek permission. Maharaja Jaisingh, upon reading the order, understood the Sayyids' strategy, but Farukhsiyar was no longer willing to listen to his advice. Reluctantly, they departed from Delhi. Now, the Sayyids were no longer afraid of anyone. Maharaja Bhimsinghji and Maharaja Ajitsingjih were with them, and in addition, a large Maratha army was stationed in Delhi. The leader of the Mughal forces had already joined the Sayyids. Meanwhile, there were no notable nobles supporting Farukhsiyar.[457]

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[455] Irvine : Later Mughals, Vol. 1, p. 374.

[456] (i) Mirza Muhammad: Tazkira, Page 449.
(ii) Khafikhan: Vol. 2, p. 805.

[457] (i) Kamvarkhan: Tazkirat Asslaatin Chagataiya, p. 191.
(ii) Khafikhan - Article: Vol. 2, p. 806.

Entry of Bhimsinghji into the Royal Fort - On the morning of 27th February, Qutb-ul-Mulk entered the Royal Fort. With him were Maharaoa Bhimsinghji, Raja Ajitsinghji, and Raja Gajrajsinghji. The royal guards and artillerymen were removed and replaced with trusted men of the Sayyids. Hussain-Ali-Khan deployed soldiers at various locations throughout the city. Marathas were stationed in many streets, and Maratha horsemen were positioned at the palace gates. By evening, Farukhsiyar sent word that he was ready to accept all the conditions of the Sayyids, but the Sayyids were not interested in any conditions."

At the same time, many of the king's high-ranking officers started to desert him and flee. This news spread throughout the city, causing widespread panic. Finally, Farukhsiyar appealed to Maharaja Ajitsinghji for help. His belief was that since Ajitsinghji was his father-in-law, he might come to his rescue in this moment of crisis. At this point, Farukhsiyar, in his desperate state, had forgotten that Ajitsinghji had been forced into the relationship as his father-in-law, not out of affection. Infact, Ajitsinghji considered the connection a great disgrace. Farukhsiyar wrote to Ajitsinghji, saying that there was no guard on the eastern side of the palace near the Yamuna. If he could station some men there, Farukhsiyar could escape. This letter was sent by a messenger. Ajitsinghji replied that it was too late now, and there was nothing he could do. The news of this correspondence also reached the Sayyids, and a tight guard was placed along the Yamuna.

Farukhsiyar was deposed and imprisoned – On 28th February 1719CE, the Sayyids decided to place Shahzada Rafi-ud-Darajat on the throne and remove Farukhsiyar. By this time, the Sayyids had full control of the royal palace, and the king was hiding in the harem to protect his life. Despite many attempts to persuade him to come out, Farukhsiyar remained hidden. The Sayyids, under the leadership of Raja Ratnachandra, Raja Bakhtmal, Najmuddin-Ali-Khan, and Dildar-Khan, ordered 400 Pathans to enter the harem and

capture Farukhsiyar. When they entered the women's quarters, armed Turkish women bravely resisted, with some being killed and others wounded. Farukhsiyar was hiding in a small room.

When the door was broken open, he came out, despairing for his life, with a sword in hand, and struck at the assailants. But what could he do? How many could he fight? Finally, his mother, wife, daughter, and other women surrounded him and, in extreme humility, begged the attackers for his life. However, the soldiers pushed these women aside. Farukhsiyar was dragged out and taken away. Qutb-ul-Mulk ordered his eyes to be gouged out in the Diwan-e-Khas, and he was imprisoned in the fort.

The lamentable condition of the Begums – Not only were the Begums' clothes and pearl jewelry taken, but silver, copper, and brass utensils were looted as well. The servants and secondary wives of the harem were taken away as trophy of war. On the advice of Ajitsinghji, his daughter Indrakunwar, who had been sent in a palanquin to Farukhsiyar, was handed over to the Sayyids. Indrakunwar underwent purification according to Hindu rituals and wore Hindu attire again. Taking nearly one crore worth of personal property, she left for Jodhpur with her father. This caused great dissatisfaction among the strict Muslims, but to maintain peace, the Sayyids had to seek Ajitsinghji's help. Reluctantly, they had to accept Ajitsinghji's advice.[458]

Bhimsinghji is ordered to march towards Bundi – After Farukhsiyar's arrest, the influence of Sawai Jaisinghji and Buddhsinghji in the royal court vanished. Bhimsinghji, who had been waiting for the opportunity to march on Bundi, did not forget how Farukhsiyar had handed Bundi back to Buddhsinghji after being caught in Jaisinghji's conspiracy. After the victory of the Sayyids, Bhimsinghji said that now the only ones who could cause trouble were Jaisinghji and Buddhsinghji, a statement that the Sayyids understood. They

[458] (i) Kamvar Khan: Tajkiraat As-salaateen Chagataya, P. 194.
(ii) Khafi Khan: jild 2, P. 814 and 833.

then gave Bhimsinghji permission to seize Bundi and annex it into his state.

Nekussiyar ascends the throne at Agra – After Farukhsiyar was deposed, several rumors began circulating in the country. The Sayyids feared that Sawai Jaisinghji, Raja Chhabelaram (Subedar of Allahabad), and Nawab Nizam-ul-Mulk would join forces to create trouble. At this time, the royal family was imprisoned in Agra, and the Sayyids were worried that one of the surviving princes might claim the throne. Eventually, a Brahmin physician named Mitrasen, collaborating with Sawai Jaisinghji, Raja Chhabbla-Ram, and Nizam-ul-Mulk, placed Nekussiyar on the throne in Agra on 18 May 1719 CE . Nekussiyar bestowed the title of Raja Birbal upon Mitrasen and made him a 7,000-man holder of a mansab (military rank). He also took one crore rupees from the royal treasury and distributed it among the soldiers. Fighting began at the house of Gairat Khan, who was the Sayyids' administrator, in Agra. Gairat Khan fought valiantly against the enemies and immediately sent word to Delhi.[459]

Bhimsinghji reaches Agra – Upon hearing the news of Nekussiyar ascending the throne in Agra, Maharao Bhimsinghji and Chudaman Jat were sent to Agra to protect Gairat-Khan. Along with them, three prominent Muslim Umravs (high-ranking officials)were also sent, and a letter was written to Gairat-Khan assuring him that additional troops would be sent from Delhi soon.[460] Upon Bhimsinghji and Chudaman Jat’s arrival in Agra, Gairat-Khan fought with renewed courage, and Nekussiyar’s position weakened. Meanwhile, Sawai Jaisinghji left Amer and reached Toda, but did not proceed further. He set up camp and awaited the arrival of Raja Chhabelaram and Nizam-ul-Mulk. Chhabela-Ram could not join as there was a rebellion in his province, and Nizam-ul-Mulk paid no attention to the matter, being

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459 Khafikhan: Vol. 2, p. 4, 828.

460 (i)Kamaraj : Ibratnama, Page 68 A Irvine : Later Mughals Vol. Quoted on page 413.
(ii)Document Samvat 1776.

absorbed in his own personal interests. On June 23, 1719 CE, Hussein-Ali-Khan left Delhi and reached Agra, where he laid siege to the fort. On August 12, Nekussiyar surrendered. Bhimsinghji then returned to Kota from Agra.[461]

The Sayyids placed Muhammad Shah on the throne – Rafi udd-rajat was suffering from jaundice and had a heavy addiction to opium. At the time of his coronation, he was only 20 years old, but due to his illness and addictions, he was steadily weakening.It seemed in a few months that his end was not far away. Realizing his condition was beyond recovery, he himself told the Sayyids that if his brother Rafi-uddaula were placed on the throne instead of him, his remaining life would be spent in peace. Therefore, on June 4, 1719 CE , the Sayyids deposed Rafi-ud-darajat from the throne and sent him to the harem(residence for women), while Rafi-uddaula was placed on the throne in the Diwan-i-Aam(public audience hall in royal palaces). Seven days later, on June 11, 1719 CE , Rafi-udd-rajat passed away. He had ruled for only three months and nine days. Rafi-ud-dawlah was the third son of Bahadur Shah and was only 18 months older than Rafi-udd-rajat. He too was completely a puppet in the hands of the Sayyids. The Sayyids supervised all of his actions, even his food and clothing. Like his brother, he was sick and frail. After taking the throne, he tried to quit opium, but this made him even more ill, and he died on September 18, 1719 CE. He ruled for only 4 months and 16 days. After his death, the Sayyids installed Shahzada Roshan-Akhtar, Bahadur Shah's grandson, on the throne under the name of Nasiruuddin-Muhammad Shah -Badshah Ghazi.

Buddhsinghji assisted Chhabelaram - Chhabelaram Nagar, the Subedar of Allahabad, was against the Sayyids. After the deposition of Farrukhsiyar, he came to Agra to help Nekusiyar, but he had to stay in his province because a rebellion broke out there. After suppressing the rebellion, he began preparing for an uprising against the Sayyids and invited Buddhsinghji and Shatrushal Bundela to join him. Buddhsinghji was already against the Sayyids.

[461] Khafikhan Vol. II, p. 836

The Sayyids had granted Buddhsinghji permission to attack Bundi, and after defeating Salamsingh, they had taken control of Bundi. Buddhsinghji's only support now was Sawai Jaisinghji. He had not abandoned his attempt to reclaim Bundi, but he also knew that as long as the Sayyids held power, Bundi could not be reclaimed. Therefore, when Chhabelaram invited him to join the rebellion, he joined him with ten thousand cavalry.[462]

Royal Army's Attack on Bundi - When the Sayyids learned that Buddhsinghji had joined Chhabelaram, they sent the royal army to Bundi on November 17, 1719 CE. Hussain Ali's army commander Dilawar Ali Khan, along with fifteen thousand selected cavalry, was dispatched. Along with this army, Maharao Bhimsinghji and Raja Gajsinghji of Narwer were also present, and both nobles had their own separate armies. On February 12, 1720 CE , it was reported from Delhi that Maharao Bhimsinghji and Dilawar Ali Khan had fought a major battle with Rav Buddhsinghji's uncle, in which Buddhsinghji's uncle was killed, and nearly six thousand Rajputs were killed in the battle[463]

The True Objective of the Royal Army – The army sent with Dilawar-Khan by the Sayyids had a primary objective that was not to assist Bhimsinghji but to launch an attack on Nizam-ul-Mulk.[464]Bhimsinghji had already secured Bundi. While the royal army's attack helped affirm Bhimsinghji's victory and led to the complete destruction of Salimsingh's power, it was essentially a maneuver by the Sayyids to further oblige Bhimsinghji. At that time, Nizam-ul-Mulk had stopped obeying the Sayyids and was preparing to oppose them. To suppress him, the Sayyids needed Bhimsinghji's assistance, and the royal army was actually organized to target him. The route to the south from Delhi passed through the Kota state, and therefore, Dilawar-Khan was instructed to ensure

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462 Irvine : Later Mughals, Vol. 2, pp. 10-11.

463 (i) Khafikha: Vol. 2, pp. 844-851.
(ii) Kamvar Khan: pp. 216-18.

464 Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, p. 3077. Appendix 25

Salimsingh was reprimanded and to camp with Bhimsinghji and Gajsinghji on the borders of Malwa province while awaiting further orders from Delhi. At this point, Bhimsinghji was promised that once Nizam-ul-Mulk was defeated, he would be elevated to the higher rank Maharaja, and be granted a Saat Hazari Mansab ("rank of 7,000," responsible for leading 7,000 soldiers).They will also get the royal Maratib(positions within the royal court or military hierarchy)[465]

Nizam-ul-Mulk Appointed as the Subedar (Governor) of the South – Chinkulijakhan Nizam-ul-Mulk, had earned great prestige during Aurangzeb's reign. Both his father and he had displayed remarkable bravery in battles against the Marathas, which pleased Aurangzeb greatly, leading to both being honored significantly. However, Aurangzeb's successors did not accord him the same respect, which caused Nizam-ul-Mulk to remain consistently dissatisfied. He served Bahadur-Shah reluctantly, even resigning twice.Nizam-ul-Mulk played a crucial role in defeating Jahandar-Shah and placing Farrukhsiyar on the throne. As a reward for this service, Farrukhsiyar appointed him as the Governor of the South immediately after ascending the throne. Nizam-ul-Mulk considered this governorship a stepping stone toward becoming an independent noble. Therefore, he enthusiastically proceeded to the south and began organizing and strengthening his administration.

His Enmity with the Sayyids However, the Sayyid brothers were not idle.They observed the actions of a powerful noble like Nizam-ul-Mulk with vigilance and caution.They soon realized that Nizam-ul-Mulk was engaged in pursuing a secret agenda. Consequently, Nizam-ul-Mulk could not hold the governorship of the South for even six months before Sayyid-Husain-Ali was appointed in his place, and Nizam-ul-Mulk was reassigned to Muradabad. For a few days, he remained in Delhi at Farrukhsiyar's behest, but the Sayyids did not favor

[465] Khafikhan: Vol. 2, p. 851. Appendix 25

his proximity to the emperor.To diminish his influence, they appointed him as the Subedar (governor) of Bihar and sent him to Patna. Before he could depart for Patna, the Sayyids conspired against Farrukhsiyar, with the assistance of Maharao Bhimsinghji and Maharaja Ajitsinghji, dethroning him and ultimately having him killed.At this time, the governorship of Malwa was vacant, and Nizam-ul-Mulk was ordered to proceed to Malwa instead of Patna to take charge of the administration.This constant reassignment left Nizam-ul-Mulk deeply dissatisfied. However, he agreed to go to Malwa on the condition that he would not be removed from there. The Sayyids accepted this condition, and on March 15, 1719 CE, he set out for Malwa.

Preparations for Battle Upon reaching Malwa, Nizam-ul-Mulk began recruiting new soldiers for his army and expanding the treasury. This news alarmed the Sayyids, prompting them to demand an explanation from Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Sayyids were not satisfied with Nizam-ul-Mulk's response and issued a royal decree commanding him to leave Malwa and take charge of the governorship of one of four provinces: Akbarabad, Allahabad, Multan, or Burhanpur. Before this decree could reach him, Chin-Kulij-khan had already learned that Dilawar-Ali-Khan, accompanied by Maharao Bhimsinghji and Raja Gajsinghji, was camped with a massive army on the border of Malwa.He was also aware that the three commanders had been ordered to discipline Salamsingh and monitor Nizam-ul-Mulk's actions while awaiting further orders from Delhi. Outwardly, Dilawar-Ali-Khan claimed that he was heading to Aurangabad to escort Nawab Husain-Ali Khan's family. However, Nizam-ul-Mulk clearly understood these schemes. As a result, he began preparing to confront the Sayyids.

The Conspiracy of Nizam-ul-Mulk and Muhammad Shah Nizam-ul-Mulk was informed by his cousin that after subduing Nekusiyar and Chhabelaram, the Sayyids planned to march on the South . Meanwhile, Muhammad Shah was growing increasingly dissatisfied with the behavior of the

Sayyids. They had reduced him to a mere figurehead adorned with royal symbols, while retaining complete control over the administration.Thus, Muhammad- Shah and his mother encouraged Nizam-ul-Mulk to oppose the Sayyids and motivated him to liberate the emperor from their clutches.[466]

Encouraged in this manner, Nizam-ul-Mulk began military preparations and found excuses to evade the Sayyids' orders. He sent letters to his friends everywhere seeking support and marched towards Ujjain. By bribing the fort commander of Asirgarh, he took possession of the fort.

Bhimsinghji's Campaign Against Nizam-ul-Mulk The Sayyids already feared Nizam-ul-Mulk. It now became evident that he was preparing for war. Therefore, the Sayyids ordered a campaign against him. At that time, Alim-Ali-Khan was the Subedar (governor) of Aurangabad and aligned with the Sayyids. Orders were sent to him to march northwards from Aurangabad to attack Nizam-ul-Mulk.

To the north, near the Malwa border, the armies of Bhimsinghji, Gajsinghji, and Dilawar-Ali-Khan were already stationed. Orders were given to them to advance southward. The Sayyids' strategy was for Alim Ali-Khan to attack from the south and for Maharao Bhimsinghji and others to march from the north, thereby surrounding Nizam-ul-Mulk.

Alim-Ali-Khan, with thirty thousand cavalrymen, set out northward on June 7, 1720 CE.[467] At this time, Nizam-ul-Mulk had stationed his army at Devagarh and planned to spend the monsoon season there. However, upon learning that Alim-Ali-Khan had left Aurangabad, he advanced southward to confront him. Crossing the Tapti River, he set up camp near Burhanpur. At this time, Nizam-ul-Mulk received news that Dilawar Ali Khan, Bhimsinghji, and Gajsinghji were advancing rapidly and had reached within approximately 28 miles of Burhanpur. Nizam-ul-Mulk knew that defeating Alim-Ali-Khan would not be difficult, but Dilawar Ali Khan and the two Rajput nobles

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[466] Khafi Khan: Volume 2, Pages 850-852.

[467] (i) Khafi Khan: Volume 2, Page 874.
(ii) Ma'asir-ul-Umara: Volume 1, Page 352.

were very powerful. Therefore, he decided to confront them first.[468]

Accordingly, Nizam-ul-Mulk left his family and belongings in Asirgarh and marched northward to confront Dilawar-Ali-Khan. He sent his artillery ahead under the leadership of Ghayas-Khan and Sheikh Muhammad Shah-Farrukhi and himself departed with the rest of the army on June 15. After traveling 27 miles north of Burhanpur, he set up camp. From this location, Dilawar-Khan's encampment was about 6 miles away. Nizam-ul-Mulk proposed a peace settlement, but Dilawar Khan rejected it.[469]

Bhimsinghji's Army Dilawar Khan, being the Sayyids' Fauj Bakshi (chief military officer), brought with him 6,000 carefully selected cavalrymen. Maharao Bhimsinghji had about 2,000 Rajputs, all equipped with weapons and wearing armor. Additionally, Raja Gajsinghji of Narwer had brought 3,000 Rajputs. Dost-Muhammad-Khan-Rohilla also joined the army with 3,500 soldiers. Thus, the total strength of the Sayyid faction's army was approximately 13,000.[470]

The Battle of Pandhar On June 19, 1720 CE , Nizam-ul-Mulk advanced four kos (about8 miles) and then organized his army.Ghayas Khan was appointed as the commander of the vanguard, with Sheikh Muhammad Shah and Noorullah-Farrukhi placed under his command. Prominent Muslim nobles were stationed on the right and left flanks. In the center stood trusted warriors such as Mutawassil-Khan and Ismail Khan. The responsibility for protecting the rear of the army was assigned to Rustam-Beg-Khan.[471]

On the other side, Dilawar-Khan occupied an elevated ground to the east of Nizam-ul-Mulk's camp. He concealed his supplies behind this ground and advanced his vanguard under the leadership of Sayyid-Sher Khan and Babar-Khan. This vanguard consisted of 3,000 cavalrymen and 8,000

[468] Khafikhan: Vol. 2, p. 875.
[469] Khafikhan, Vol. II, p. 875.
[470] Khafikhan, Vol. II, p. 877
[471] (i) Khafikhan: Vol. 2, p. 876.
(ii.) Maasir-ul-Umra: Vol. 3, p. 877.

musketeers. Then, leading the main army, Dilawar-Khan advanced seated on an elephant. On one side of him was Maharao Bhimsinghji on his elephant, and on the other side was Gajsinghji.

Bhimsinghji's Valor The battle began in the afternoon of June 19, 1720 CE . Initially, the artillery unleashed a barrage of fire. Ghayas Khan and Aiwaz Khan attacked Dilawar Khan from two directions. However, Aiwaz Khan was injured and retreated from the battlefield.A fierce battle followed, during which Sher Khan and Babar Khan, two valiant warriors of the Sayyid faction, were killed. Witnessing this, Dilawar Ali Khan personally launched an attack on the center of the opposing forces. However, as he advanced, he was struck by a bullet in the chest and died instantly. Along with him, numerous brave soldiers of the Sayyid faction were also killed, leaving a pile of their bodies on the battlefield. Even after the death of Dilawar-Ali Khan and most of the Sayyid soldiers, Maharao Bhimsinghji and Raja Gajsinghji remained steadfast on the battlefield. Bhimsinghji was seated on his elephant, with an idol of Lord Brijnath placed in the howdah (seat on elephant)before him. Confronting the enemy and immersing his mind in the divine, he continued to advance. Suddenly, a cannonball struck him, and he attained martyrdom.[472]

The Valor of Gajsinghji - Despite this, Gajsinghji did not abandon the battlefield. He dismounted from his elephant and, along with approximately fifty loyal soldiers, launched a ferocious attack on the vanguard of the enemy forces. In this assault, he too was killed. Nevertheless, about four hundred Rajputs and the remaining Muslim soldiers, alongside their leaders, stood their ground on the battlefield, determined to attain martyrdom.The entire army, fighting with extraordinary valor, was eventually scattered, and Nizam-ul-Mulk emerged victorious.[473]

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[472] (i) Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, p. 3079. Appendix 25
(ii) Khafikhan : Vol. 2, p. 880. Appendix 25

[473] (i) Irvine : Later Mughals , Vol. 2, pp. 28-31.

Bhimsinghji was a *Pagri Badal Bhai* of Nizam-ul-Mulk

Maharao Bhimsinghji and Chinkuliz- Khan were *Pagri Badal Bhai* (close friends bound by the tradition of exchanging turbans). Therefore, before the battle began, Chinkuliza- Khan wrote a letter to Bhimsinghji, urging him to remember their close friendship and avoid confronting him. However, Bhimsinghji did not heed his words and chose to obey the Sayyids' orders, considering it more honorable to follow their commands.

The reason for this decision was that the Sayyids had greatly enhanced Bhimsinghji's reputation and had not only protected him from the schemes of Buddhsinghji and Sawai Jaisinghji but had also assisted him in establishing control over Bundi. Bhimsinghji, therefore, felt deeply grateful to the Sayyids, and it was this sense of gratitude that led him to fight valiantly until the very end, demonstrating a warrior’s loyalty and honor.

Expansion of the Kingdom -Before his death, Maharao Bhimsinghji had greatly expanded his kingdom. His kingdom stretched from Nainwa in the north to Narsinghgarh in the south, and from the eastern border of Bundi state to Thane in the east. This was the result of his military strength. Initially, his situation was precarious, so he had intended to give all the

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(ii). Tod: Vol. II, pp. 556-57.

(iii) Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, pp. 3078-79.

(*Other historian has described the martyrdom of Bhimsinghji in a different way. Bhimsinghji attacked the Harawali officer Ghayas-Khan of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Along with him was Gajsinghji. Both dismounted from their elephants, mounted their horses, and, with two thousand Rajputs, advanced to confront the enemy. Quresh-Beg and Khwaja-Masoom bravely faced them, but what could they do in front of two thousand Rajputs, whom Maharao Bhimsinghji was rallying with the sound of war drum? Bhimsinghji and Quresh Beg fought fiercely, and Quresh Beg, despite being wounded by countless blows, was killed. But he managed to kill Bhimsinghji in the process.)

territories except the pargana of Kota to Bundi state. However, his fortune turned, and after witnessing the expansion and prosperity of his kingdom, he passed away. Bhimsinghji had conquered several cities and towns besides Bundi, including the following notable ones:

Rajgarh, Narsinghgarh, Raghogarh, Khilchipur, Naya Kila, Shahabad, Gagron, Bhanwargarh, Bhimgarh, Khandela, Sisodiyas' Umri, Bhadora, Digdoli, Wasee, Gagroni, Chachorni, Gang-dhar, Dag, Pidawa, Awar, Sunara, Bhanpur, Garoth, Saneja, and others[474]

Bundi State Included in Kota Before his death, Bhimsinghji made Bundi state a part of Kota state. During the second conquest of Bundi, on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Phalguna, Samvat 1776, he left no royal insignia in Bundi. He removed the Chatra(umbrella) from the Bundi palace and brought it to Kota, where it was placed atop the royal palace. The two cannons, Dhooldhani and Kadak Bijli, were brought from Bundi and placed in the Kota fort. The gates of the Bundi palace were transferred to Kota, specifically to the gates of Bolseri in Kota.Several pairs of naubat and nakkaras (musical instruments) were brought from there and placed in the nakkar khana(Royal Musical court) of Kota. The elephant from the gate of the Bundi royal palace was also transferred to Kota and placed on HathiaPole(Kota Garh). After establishing his control over the entire Bundi state, Bhimsinghji appointed his representative, Bhagwandas Dhabhai, to govern there.

Victory of Shivpur and Baroda In Samvat 1775, an army was sent to conquer the pargana (territory) of Shaupur Baroda. The siege of the fort lasted for several days. Eventually, a tunnel was dug, and the fort was demolished.[475] The ruler of this region, Indrasingh, who was morally corrupt , went to Sawai Jaisinghji seeking help and refuge. However,

[474] Thakur Lakshmandanji.
[475] Document Samvat 1775.

during Bhimsinghji's lifetime, he was unable to regain his state.[476]

His Muslim Commander-Gulmirkhan Pathan was the commander of Bhimsinghji's army. Under his leadership, several thousand Pathan soldiers fought in his army. In addition to them, the jagirdars and umraos (nobles) also joined his forces with their cavalry. Bhimsinghji himself had participated successfully in many fierce battles and had earned remarkable military expertise.

Victory of Manoharthana-At that time, Manoharthana was under the control of the Bhils. King Chakrasen of the Bhils ruled there, and distant villages regarded him as their chief. He had five hundred cavalry and eight hundred archers always stationed for protection. The region had been under the control of the Bhil (tribal rulers) for centuries. However, Bhimsinghji defeated King Chakrasen, expelled him, and took control of Manoharthana for his kingdom.[477]Chakrasen fled from Manoharthana to Malwa, where his descendants, Mandhata still rule in Onkarnath.

Victory of Umatwada –After defeating the Bhils, Maharao Bhimsinghji attacked Umatwada. He defeated the rulers of Rajgarh, Narasinghgarh, and Patan, forcing them to acknowledge his supremacy and begin paying tax. The nobles of these states were under the direct control of Kota from the time of Bhimsinghji, from 1719 CE to 1818CE . The succession to the thrones of these states happened with the permission of the Kota ruler, and when needed, they had to join the Kota army.

Victory of Shahabad – At that time, the area of Shahabad was under the control of a sanadya(type of brahmin)Brahmin named Khanderao. Khanderao's father was the military commander of Narwer. Taking advantage of his lord's weakness and the Maratha invasions, Khanderao seized

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[476] Vanshbhaskara, Part IV, p. 3070

[477] Tod : Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 555.

the pargana (region) of Shahabad and established a small state for himself.Such a small state could not exist under the influence of an ambitious ruler like Bhimsinghji. He sent his army and easily established control over the area. Amarsingh Dhandehra was Khanderao's friend. After Bhimsinghji's victory, Amar Singh were not given privileges which were given by Khanderao. Therefore, Amar Singh attacked Shahabad. [478]However, the Hawalagir (commander) of Shahabad bravely confronted him and quickly restored peace.

The Expanded Kingdom and Bhimsinghji's Organization – During that time, people speculated that Bhimsinghji intended to establish his own independent capital in Malwa, possibly by giving his sons the kingdoms of Bundi, Kota, and Shopur Baroda. Bhimsinghji had accumulated an extensive territory, with authority over around 3,400 villages, several towns, suburbs, and forts. Thus, it is possible that he might have considered such a plan.[479] Under Bhimsinghji's rule, the Kota kingdom reached its largest extent, a scale it had never achieved before and never would again. At that time, in terms of fertile land, prosperous towns, and strong fortresses, the Kota kingdom was the largest in Rajputana, with an area comparable to Jodhpur or Udaipur. The kingdom of Savai Jaisinghji had not yet expanded to such an extent.

Royal Court and Respect among Native States – Maharao Bhimsinghji held great prestige in his royal court and in the major Rajput states. Emperor Farrukhsiyar had granted him a *Panjhazari* (5,000) *mansab* (rank) and appointed him as an officer in charge of 5,000 cavalry, while also honoring him with the *Mahi Maratib (Honor)*. During the reign of Muhammad Shah, when Bhimsinghji was sent against Chinkulija-Khan, the Sayyids promised to promote him to the rank of *Sapta-hazari* (7,000). It was Farrukhsiyar who also bestowed upon him the title of Maharao.[480]

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[478] Document Samvat 1771.

[479] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, p. 3075.

[480] (i) Vanshabhaskara, Quaternary, Page 3042.
(ii). Tod: Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 555.
(iii) Khafikhan: Vol. II, p. 851.

"He was also Chinkulijakhan's Pagadi Badal BhaiClose friend like brother). Maharao Bhimsinghji was the son-in-law of the Maharana of Udaipur, the Maharaja of Kishangarh, the Thakur of Bansbahale, and the Devaria of Pratapgarh. He was a close friend of Maharaja Ajitsinghji of Jodhpur. In Samvat 1769, Maharana of Udaipur and his elder prince visited Kota and stayed there for almost three months. The Subedars of Agra and Ajmer regarded him with great respect and often consulted him. He had visited the Subedar of Ujjain twice. He maintained constant correspondence with the Subedars of Agra, Ajmer, and Ujjain, as well as with the rulers of Udaipur and Jodhpur. For correspondence, he employed many messengers (kaseds). In Samvat 1776, he spent 1,176 rupees on these messengers.[481] This shows how well-informed he was about the political situation around him. The Subedars of Agra, Ujjain, and Ajmer shared such a close friendship with Maharao Bhimsinghji that traders passing through Kota state, if they carried a letter from any of these Subedars, would be exempted from paying Rahdari(road taxes). Maharao Bhimsinghji, though brave and ambitious, was also deeply religious and worked for the welfare of his people and his religion. This was why, after receiving advice from a sanyasi (ascetic), he lifted the siege of Karwar, and in times of adverse conditions at Bharatpur, he provided loans worth thousands of rupees to many Rajputs in the Bharatpur area."[482]

State Administration - Due to spending most of his time on the battlefield, Bhimsinghji was unable to strengthen the internal administration of his extensive state. He ruled for only 13 years.From states like Narsinghgarh, Rajgarh, Khilchipur, and Raghogarh, he only collected Tax (tax levied on agricultural land). He annexed Bundi into his state, appointing his representative there to establish his rule.

The parganas he incorporated into his state were primarily governed by local jagirdars. Most villages in these parganas were under the control of jagirdars. For instance, in Pargana Khata Khedi, there were a total of 445 villages, of

[481] Document Samvat 1776.
[482] Document Samvat 1771.

which 115 were under the jagir of Thakur Amar Singh Umat, 82 under Diwan Fateh Singh, 42 under Dhriti Singh Khinchi, and 31 under Shakti Singh. Additionally, there were several smaller jagirdars.Jagirdars were kept under strict control. Notably, Hada jagirdars like Mohan Singhot and Kishore Singhot had significant prestige, but the situation was different for other jagirdars. It was common to confiscate a jagirdar's jagir or transfer it to another.

In exchange for their jagirs, jagirdars were required to serve in the military. Some served locally, while others served at the court. The administration ensured that jagirdars did not oppress their subjects. If any oppression occurred, the subjects could appeal to the court. For example, in the village of Mauja Kundala in Pargana Bhilwadi, when the jagirdar's subjects complained about his oppression, his jagir was confiscated, and the revenue from his village was also seized. It was agreed to give the jagirdar 1,400 rupees in exchange for the jagir.[483]

Officials from the parganas periodically sent administrative reports. The court also received numerous complaints from the populace against these officials. During the rainy season, the army did not receive salaries. Gulmir-Khan Pathan, who was Bhimsinghji's military commander, petitioned regarding this issue, and he was granted a monthly allowance of 500 rupees. Typically, he received about 4,000 rupees monthly, from which he had to pay his personal soldiers.The main components of Bhimsinghji's army included cavalry, infantry, camel riders, ahadis (elite soldiers), elephants, and artillery. The army was equipped with tools for breaking fort gates and explosives for breaching fort walls through tunneling. Such equipment was used during the conquest of Shopur.[484]

Forced labor was employed only on special occasions. During festivals like Dussehra and Diwali, those who worked were given 'petiya' (a form of compensation). Wages at that time were very low. In construction work, men received 2.00 paise per day, women 1.00 paise, and children 1.005 paise

[483] Document Samvat 1770

[484] Document Samvat 1775

daily. Similarly, other types of labor were also underpaid. For instance, transporting 100 bundles of grass earned 1 paisa; playing the naubat (traditional drums) fetched 3 paise per day; setting up or dismantling tents earned 2 paise daily; spinning 1 ser (approximately 0.933 kilograms) of yarn earned 8 paise; washing hemp (san) for 1 maund (approximately 37.324 kilograms) earned 6 paise; making leather straps earned 2 paise daily; erecting masts or poles earned 2 paise per day; and repairing carpets and sheets earned 3 paise daily per person.[485]

Madhosingh Jhala – Bhimsinghji extended refuge to a Rajput lineage, whose descendant, fifty years later, became the guiding force behind the Kota state and earned great renown. Madhosingh Jhala arrived in Kota with 50 horsemen from Halvad in the Gujarat province and joined the army as a soldier. Within a short span, his nobility, intelligence, and bravery greatly impressed Bhimsinghji. Consequently, Madhosingh's sister was married to the eldest prince of Kota, significantly enhancing his stature.[486] Shortly thereafter, he was appointed to the position of commander and was granted the Nanta estate.

The Success of Maharao Bhimsinghji – Upon ascending the throne after the demise of Ramsinghji, Bhimsinghji faced numerous challenges. However, through his wisdom, tact, and valor, he overcame these severe difficulties. By the time he departed from this world, he had transformed Kota into a prosperous, powerful, and expansive state. When he took the throne, Buddhisinghji wielded significant influence in the royal Mughal court and even received permission to annex Kota into his domain. Emperor Bahadur Shah caused considerable trouble for Bhimsinghji. Around the same time, a Maratha chieftain created chaos in the town of Aton and its surrounding areas. [487]When Bahadur Shah passed through the Kota region en route to Rajasthan, the local populace suffered

[485] Document Samvat 1776.
[486] Tod : Rajasthan, Vol. II, pp. 465-66.
[487] Document Samvat 1767.

greatly under his presence.When Jahandar Shah ascended the throne, he was required to pay a lump sum of approximately five lakh rupees to settle Shahi Matalabe(imperial demands).[488]Despite such hardships, Bhimsinghji did not lose courage and patiently waited for a favorable opportunity. Gradually, his power began to grow. Upon Farrukhsiyar's accession to the throne, Bhimsinghji aligned himself with the Sayyids, which turned his fortunes around. He became a prominent figure in the empire. During his reign, several emperors ascended and fell from the throne of Delhi, and Bhimsinghji played a direct or indirect role in their rise and fall.As the central authority weakened, Bhimsinghji began appointing and dismissing Muslim qazis(Priest) in his state's districts at his discretion.[489]He had amassed such power that he started issuing his own coins and established his own Takasal(place where coins are manufactured) in Kota. At that time, Muhammad Shah was on the throne of Delhi, and the Sayyids held immense power. In such circumstances, establishing a separate Taksal (place where coins are manufactured) was a testament to Bhimsinghji's strength and influence.

Bhimsinghji's Devotion –[490]. He was a follower of the Vallabh community but bore no animosity toward other beliefs. In fact, he once traveled to Bagher, near Diggi, to visit the idol of Varaha (Boar incarnation of Vishnu). This act highlighted his open-mindedness and reverence for diverse religious traditions. This place is near Diggi. In Ashadha Krishna Shashti, Samvat 1770, Maharao Bhimsinghji donated funds for oil offerings of four annas (paise)per day to the temple.[491] He would visit temples, beginning with those of the Vallabh community (followers of Vallabhacharya). Bhimsinghji granted land exemptions to several temples.[492] On occasions such as solar and lunar eclipses, he donated land to Brahmins. For example, he gifted the village of Alanpur in the Mau

[488] Document Samvat 1769.
[489] Document Samvat 1769.
[490] Document Samvat 1766.
[491] Document Samvat 1770.
[492] Document Samvat 1775

district to the priest Bhikhaji during one such occasion, dedicating it with Udak Krishanarpan-(water and offerings.)[493]After deposing Farrukhsiyar from the throne and driving Buddhisinghji from the battlefield near Delhi, Bhimsinghji returned to his capital via Mathura. There, after bathing in the Yamuna River and performing charitable acts, his spiritual devotion became so profound that he dedicated his palace and capital to Lord Krishna. He even prepared to renounce worldly life, taking on the name "Krishnadas" and adopting the path of Sanyas(asceticism). If Salamsingh had not attacked Kota at that time, Bhimsinghji would undoubtedly have followed the ancient tradition of kings by renouncing the throne and embracing ascetic life. [494]

Bhimsinghji was so deeply devoted to the Vallabh sect that official orders from the court were signed with the name "Jai Gopal," and for the remainder of his life, he was known as "Krishnadas." His official decrees reflect his deep religious and philosophical sentiments as well as his affection for his people.[495]While fighting against Chinkulijkhan in the south, Bhimsinghji kept the idol of his Ishtadev (chosen deity) in the howdah (seat) of his elephant, positioned right in front of him. This is a striking and exemplary demonstration of his devotion, faith in God, and selfless actions. It also clearly shows the high regard in which he was held by the royal army.

Satī and Building Projects – When the news of Maharao Bhimsinghji's death reached Kota, two of his queens and five of his concubines performed satī (self-immolation). During his reign, several important structures were built, including the Krishna Mahal beneath the Barahdari, the Salahkhana Mahal, Bhimvilas, the Shri Brijnathji Temple, the Ashapuraji Temple, the Krishna Bhandar, the Bhimgarh Fort, numerous temples, wells, and step-wells (baoris).

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493 Document Samvat 1775.

494 Papers Samvat 1775 and 1776.
Vanshabhaskara Quadrant, p. 3071.

495 Decree in the name of the Papers Samvat 1775 Badaran Asha.

Wounds and Seriousness – Bhimsinghji had numerous wounds on his body. It is said that he would not remove his clothes in front of his attendants. His nature was so serious that he rarely smiled and spoke very little, only interacting with high-ranking officials. His chief minister was Rai Dwarkadas, who held the title of Madarul-Muham. (“The Supporter of the Prophet" in Arabic. It was a title bestowed upon individuals who were considered to be highly influential in religious, political, or military matters during the Mughal period.)

Early Demise – It is a source of sorrow that such a brave, illustrious, influential, powerful, and religious ruler ruled for only thirteen years. Had he lived a few more years, he would have solidified and strengthened the territory and power he had accumulated. Unfortunately, he passed away at a young age.

Sṛjati tāvadeśeṣaguṇākaram
Puruṣa ratna malaṃ karaṇaṃ bhuvaḥ
Tadapi taṃ kṣaṇabhaṅga karoticeṭ
Ahah hanta apaṇḍitatā vidheḥ(

"Creation is the one that manifests all the virtues in abundance,Yet, this very creation, even though it brings forth the gems of humanity, destroys them in an instant with a momentary flaw. Alas, how tragic is the ignorance in the divine plan.")



Maharao Arjunsinghji
(Samvat 1777 – 1780)

16
Maharao Arjunsinghji



Arjun Mahal

The palace is situated within the Garh (Fort) complex in the heart of Kota city.Arjun Mahal was likely constructed during the 18th or early 19th century,as the Garh complex saw continuous expansion under different rulers of Kota State.



Paintings at Arjun Mahal -18th Century

Style & Technique- Kota style of painting is part of the broader Rajasthani school of miniature painting, a distinctive style that evolved under the patronage of the local Rajput rulers.It has unique features—like dynamic movement, detailed facial expressions, and an emphasis on hunting scenes and court life.Artists used natural pigments derived from minerals, vegetables, and even precious stones.

Maharao Arjunsinghji

(Samvat 1777 – 1780)



Coronation and Honour by the Emperor - Maharao Bhimsinghji had four sons. Arjunsinghji, Shyamsinghji, Durjanshalji and Kishansinghji. [496]The eldest of them was Arjunsinghji and his mother was the daughter of Maharana Amarsinghji of Udaipur.After the death of Maharao Bhimsinghji, Arjunsinghji ascended the throne. Muhammad Shah was the emperor at that time. He gladly accepted the succession of Arjunsinghji and sent the Masanadnashini ka farman"(The Decree of royal hierarchy),khilat (traditional honorary gift or robe), elephants, horses and jewels on the occasion of the coronation.

Position of Muhammad Shah-After putting an end to the two Sayyid brothers, Muhammad Shah held a court in the autumn of Samvat 1977 with pomptous ceremony. In which Sawai Jaisinghji was highly honored.[497]If Muhammad Shah had power at this time, Sawai Jaisinghji would have definitely harmed the state of Kota, but Muhammad Shah was worried about handling his position at this time. He did not want to make Arjunsinghji, the new Maharao of Kota State, his enemy, for no reason. Therefore, when Maharao Arjunsinghji ascended the throne, he sent the decree of Masanadnashini and the khilaat. Had he considered his position secure,he would not have treated Maharao Arjunsinghji with such kindness because Arjunsinghji's father Maharao Bheemsinghji was a close friend of the Sayyid brothers and while fighting against Nizam-ul-Mulk,he actually fought against Muhammad Shah. Therefore, sending a khilaat and a decree to Arjunsinghji is not a sign of Muhammadshah's generosity but an indication of his weakness and weakness. The kings of Udaipur and Jodhpur and the Subedar of Ajmer sent *Tīke kā satkar* (vermilion, or other sacred substances on the forehead

[496] The account of the Mansab Samvat 1774.

[497] Khafikhan, p. 935 .

is a revered ritual symbolizing blessings, respect, or recognition).

There was open hostility between Raja Sawai Jaisinghji and Bhimsinghji. Yet, during the occasion of Bhimsinghji's coronation, Sawai Jaisinghji observed protocol and sent customary gifts from Kota as a gesture of courtesy. Similarly, inspired by the same purpose, the Thikana of Uniara also sent ceremonial gifts. Additionally, representatives from places like Bhainsrod, Karauli, and Rajgarh brought tokens of respect during the coronation ceremony.[498]

Condition of the Mughal Empire – When the news of Dilawarali Khan's defeat reached the Sayyids, they were greatly distressed. Their primary concern was that, upon leaving Aurangabad, Hussain Ali Khan had left his wife and children there. After much deliberation, the emperor issued a farman (royal decree) to Nizam-ul-Mulk, appointing him as the governor of all the southern provinces. The decree stated:

"Dilawar Khan was, in fact, sent from Aurangabad to escort Hussain Ali Khan's family, but he mistakenly engaged in conflict with you, for which he was punished by divine will" The Sayyid brothers were deeply troubled by Nizam-ul-Mulk's victory and sought to protect their position by any means possible.[499] Finally,it was decided that Muhammad Shah would accompany Hussain Ali Khan on a march to the South , while Abdullah Khan would proceed from Agra to Delhi to maintain peace in northern India. In accordance with this plan, the emperor and Hussain Ali Khan set out on September 3, 1720 CE.

By this time, however, a conspiracy against Hussain Ali Khan was already underway. To end the unbearable subjugation, the emperor and his mother sought to end Hussain Ali Khan's life.[500] Although Hussain Ali had become aware of the plot and was cautious to protect his life, he could not thwart the conspiracy.

While returning to his camp after meeting the emperor, a Mughal stabbed him with a dagger. Another conspirator

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498 Document Samvat 1777 .

499 Khafikhan: Vol. II, p. 894

500 Khafikhan : Vol. II, pp. 902-03

pulled him down from his palanquin and, climbing onto his chest, severed his head. When Abdullah Khan received news of the assassination of his brother, he immediately planned retaliation and decided to place a prince of the royal family on the throne.[501]After Hussain Ali's murder, Muhammad Shah promoted several individuals, increased ranks,and appointed trustworthy men to important positions.Hussain Ali's head was sent to Nizam-ul-Mulk, and he was ordered to present himself at court immediately. However, he did not comply.

Meanwhile, Muhammad Shah advanced and reached the Pargana of Palwal. At Shahpur, on the banks of the Yamuna, he set up his army's camp. At the same time, Abdullah Khan's army was stationed at Bilochpur, six miles from Hasanpur. Both sides prepared for battle, and on November 13, 1720 CE ensued. Abdullah Khan was defeated and captured. His house in Delhi and his camp in Hasanpur were looted by royal order. Muhammad Ibrahim, whom Abdullah Khan had proclaimed emperor, fled to save his life but was discovered by informers. He was imprisoned and provided with an allowance of 40 rupees per day for his sustenance.[502]Abdullah Khan remained imprisoned for about two years. While the emperor treated him courteously, he ultimately succumbed to the insistence of opposing Mughal nobles and had Abdullah Khan poisoned on October 11, 1722 CE .

Indifference towards Arjunsinghji-Arjunsinghji had stayed in Aurangabad with Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan for about a year. The Sayyid brothers had complete faith in the loyalty of the Kota ruler, and Muhammad Shah was fully aware of their opposition. The Sayyid brothers were well-acquainted with Arjunsinghji and favored him greatly. During their coronation, Arjunsinghji sent robes of honor, elephants, horses, and other gifts in the emperor's name. Despite this, it is surprising that neither Sayyid Hussain Ali took Arjunsinghji with him in his campaign against Nizam-ul-Mulk nor did Sayyid Abdullah Khan summon him to Delhi for assistance.

[501] (i) Khafikhan : binding 2, pp. 911-13
(ii). KamvarKhan: p. 214-238 .

[502] Khafi Khan: Volume 2, Pages 930-933

The rapid sequence of events in 1720 CE likely left neither the Sayyids nor Muhammad Shah with enough time to gather their full strength. During this period, Kota's military power was also weakened,and there was no one capable like Bhimsinghji in Kota to rebuild it.While fighting against Chinkulijkhan, not only did Bhimsingh sacrifice his life, but many of his brave Madahani vassals and two thousand armored soldiers also perished alongside him. This heavy loss could not be compensated by Arjunsinghji in just a month or two—especially because, with the death of Bhimsingh, the kingdom of Bundi slipped out of his hands.It is possible that the Sayyids did not invite Arjunsinghji to fight or that he declined due to his own challenges. At this time, Muhammad Shah was powerless in authority, and the Sayyid brothers were so troubled by Chinkulijkhan's victory that they lacked both time and resources to punish rebellious nobles or rulers. The Mughal power was effectively on its deathbed, breathing its last.

Bundi under the Control of Bhuddhsinghji- At this time, Maharao Bhimsinghji's Dhabhai Bhagwan Das, was ruling Bundi on his behalf. Upon hearing the news of Bhimsinghji's death, he realized that Kota's control over Bundi could no longer be sustained. The Sayyid brothers, allies of the Kota state, were troubled and beleaguered. Muhammad Shah's conspiracies were strengthening. Meanwhile, the defeat of the Sayyids infused new courage in Jaisinghji and Buddhsinghji.Thus, Bhagwan Das returned Bundi's territory to Bhuddhsinghji and withdrew Kota's military outposts from all regions of Bundi.[503] Hearing this news, Salamsingh marched from Jhalay and arrived in Bundi, where he became Bhudhsinghji's minister and took charge of state affairs.

Continued Authority Over Other Territories Territories like Rampura, Bhanpura, Rajgarh, Khilchipur, and Narsinghgarh attempted to free themselves from Kota's subordination. While some regions succeeded in breaking

[503] (i) Vanshabhaskara, Quaternary, Page 3079
(ii) Thakur Lakshmandan.

away, Narsinghgarh, Rajgarh, and Pattan remained under Kota's control despite efforts to secede.After eliminating the Sayyid brothers, Muhammad Shah focused on strengthening his position and sought to establish alliances with Rajput rulers. Consequently, he issued a *farman* to Arjunsinghji, granting him territories such as Aklera, Manohar Thana, Bakani, and Pattan, which Bhimsinghji had conquered through his valor and integrated into the Kota state. These territories were officially reinstated under Arjunsinghji's authority.[504]Government records list 32 parganas and around 4,000 villages under Arjunsinghji's rule. However, this count does not include the territories Bhimsinghji had conquered and for which Muhammad Shah recently issued a *farman* in Arjunsinghji's name.[505]

Death – Maharao Arjunsinghji ruled for only three years. He had no sons. He passed away on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Kartika in the year 1780 of the Vikram Samvat. During his reign, the construction of Arjun Mahal and the Upper Motimahal took place." [506]

[504] Munshi Moolchand, p. 154.
[505] Two Varki Samvat 1777
[506] Thakur Lakshmanadan.

17
Political Relations With The Mughals

Mansab – In 1624 CE , under the orders of Jahangir, Madhosinghji became the ruler of the Kota state, and there was no political relationship between him and Bundi. This state came directly under the Mughals. During Shahjahan’s reign, Madhosinghji held the position of a "Panj Hazari Mansabdar" (a title indicating the number of soldiers under command). Mukundsinghji was also a three-thousand mansabdar in Shahjahan’scourt. During Aurangzeb's time, the three rulers – Jagatsinghji, Kishoresinghji, and Ramsinghji – all ruled and held the titles of three-thousand mansabdar and two thousand cavalry officers. Bhimsinghji ruled Kota during the reign of Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah, Rafi-ud-darajat, Rafi-ud-daula, and Farrukhsiyar and was appointed a Panj Hazari Mansabdar. Had Chinkulijakhan been defeated, Bhimsinghji would have been promoted to a seven-thousand mansabdar.

During Mughal rule, all subordinate kings were mansabdars in the emperor’s army, with varying ranks. Some mansabdars held higher positions, while others held lower ones. Mansab ranks ranged from ten horses to ten thousand horses. Hindu kings rarely received a mansab higher than five thousand; however, after Akbar’s time, this rule became more relaxed.Maharaja Jaswantsingh of Jodhpur was a Sapt Hazari mansabdar, and Maharao Bhimsinghji of Kota was a Panj Hazari Mansabdar. During the conflict with Chinkuljazkhan, he was promised promotion to a Sapt-Hazari mansabdar. In practice, most rulers did not maintain the full number of horses assigned to them; if a Panj Hazari Mansabdar had three thousand horses, it was considered sufficient.

Under Akbar, inspections were stricter, but the rules were often not followed thoroughly. After Akbar, this laxity increased, reaching its peak after Aurangzeb's death. Many kings did not have the full number of horses allotted, and

sometimes the horses did not meet the required standards for height or breed. These irregularities were made possible by bribes and favoritism. The horses assigned to mansabdars were referred to as "Jati horses". In addition to these, mansabdars were also allowed to keep soldiers (cavalrymen). The number of cavalrymen determined the rank of the mansabdar. The status of Mansabadar was determined by the number of riders. He who was allowed to have riders equal to his mansab was considered to be of first class, he who had the right of about half of the mansab was considered to be second class and one whose riders were less than half of the mansab was considered to be third class. First-class mansabdars with three thousand horses received a monthly salary of 24,600 rupees, while second-class mansabdars received 24,300 rupees.

Hindu rulers also implemented a modified form of the mansab system in their own states. At that time, most Hindu rulers did not maintain a professional army ready for continuous battle. The majority of their armies were made up of their jagirdars, who were usually Rajputs. When granting a jagir, the ruler would stipulate that the jagirdar must provide a specific number of cavalrymen when required. In Kota state, several Rajputs and Muslims received jagirs for keeping horses, including Turks and locals who provided horses for service in Hadoti, India, or (Attock-par)Afghanistan. This practice continued in the Kota state even after the fall of the Mughal Empire and still exists in a nominal form.

Like Hindu rulers, their princes also received mansabs in the Mughal army. The mansab of a prince was always lower than that of his father. Brothers of rulers and prominent jagirdars were also mansabdars. During Madhosinghji’s time, Mohansinghji and Kishoresinghji fought in Balkh and Badakhshan, and both were mansabdars in Shahjaha’s court. In the battle of Dharamat, along with Mukundsinghji, his four brothers fought as mansabdars of Shahjahan , not as jagirdars of Kota. Ramsinghji participated in numerous battles in Maharashtra and Karnataka with his father and was a mansabdar under Aurangzeb. Bhimsinghji's four sons also held mansabs.

Bravery– From Madhosinghji to Bhimsinghji, all rulers gained high prestige at the Mughal court. Madhosinghji fought bravely in various parts of India and in Balkh and Badakhshan, in the front ranks of the Mughal army. The other five rulers – Mukundsinghji, Jagatsinghji, Kishoresinghji, Ramsinghji, and Bhimsinghji – fought heroically in Mughal battles until their deaths. Mukundsinghji's three brothers were killed alongside him, and Kishoresinghji, despite being severely wounded, was found alive for some time. Mohansinghji's bravery was so remarkable that Muslim historians specifically mentioned it in their accounts of the battle of Dharamat. Other rulers also lost many warriors, and thousands of Rajputs died in various battles, particularly in the wars at Dharamat, Jajav, and Pandhar. The Kota army, too, faced near annihilation in these wars.

Prestige – Kota was ruled under different Mughal emperors: Jahangir and Shahjahan , who were liberal; Aurangzeb, who was rigid and intolerant; Bahadurshah, who was dissatisfied and angry; Jahandar Shah, Rafi-ud-darajat, Rafi-ud-daula who was unstable and Farrukhsiyar who was restless; and Muhammad Shah, who was a valiant emperor. Some rulers were satisfied, and others were not, but no emperor ever tried to strip Kota of its sovereignty or dishonor the royal family. Most rulers earned prestige at the Mughal court and were given gifts like horses, jewels, royal robes, and musical instruments. However, no Mughal emperor demanded Dola (ceremonial bridal procession) from the Kota royal family. During the reign of the fanatical Aurangzeb, the Jain temple at Chandkhedi was built. Although Aurangzeb ordered its closure several times, Kishoresinghji ignored these orders. Bhimsinghji, while fighting in the Mughal army, carried the statue of his revered deity, Shri Brijnathji, in his elephant's howdah, and the Mughal general Dilawar Ali Khan made no objection to it.

Kota State's Status from the Mughal Perspective – Akbar divided his vast empire into 15 Suba (provinces), each

further divided into Government and then smaller pargana (districts). Rajputana was one such province, called the Ajmer province, and it was subdivided into several Governments. The governor of Ajmer, known as a subedar or sipah-salar, governed all of Rajputana as the powerful representative of the Mughal empire. The officers (faujdar)of the government, were subordinate to the subedar and were responsible for maintaining peace in the districts. He generally resided in the fort and maintained a substantial army to ensure peace within his jurisdiction. In the administrative system, the province (sūbah) of Ajmer was divided into several Governments (sarkars), and each government was further subdivided into smaller units called parganas. The subedar (provincial governor), faujdar (military commander), chowdhary (land revenue officer), and qanungo (record-keeper) were all appointed by the emperor.

Thus, the political existence of Rajput states or princely territories in Rajputana was not officially recognized by the imperial administration. In official decrees and documents, the rulers of Amer, Jodhpur, or Kota were never referred to as Maharaja or sovereign rulers. Instead, they were addressed simply by their names, such as Maharaja Ajitsinghji Jai Singh Sawai, or Maharao Bhimsingh Hada.

A Rajput noble's domain was not considered an independent state in reality. Their capital was referred to as their watan (homeland), and their territory was regarded merely as zamindari (a feudal estate). The imperial revenue demand or tax (matālabā) was assessed separately for each pargana and deposited into the imperial treasury of the sūbah to which the pargana belonged.Some parganas of the Kota State were under the jurisdiction of Sarkar Garh Gagron in the Subah of Ujjain, while others were under Sarkar Garh Ranthambhore in the Subah of Ajmer. The revenue from these parganas was also sent to the treasuries of these respective subahs.

The actual status of the Kota state – Despite everything, the Rajput principalities had a genuine existence. Officially, the Mughal government did not recognize them as

independent states, but this was merely a matter of bureaucratic formality. In reality, Kota, Bundi, Jodhpur, Jaipur, and other Rajput territories were regarded as legitimate states.It is true that the Mughals exercised control over Rajputana, and all Hindu rulers held mansabs (official ranks) under the Mughal empire. However, in terms of internal administration, they were largely autonomous. In fact, it can be said that Mughal control was far less intrusive than the modern British system of governance. The Mughal administration was neither as organized nor as systematic as British rule. Moreover, the Mughal emperors constantly needed the assistance of Rajput rulers.

From a practical perspective, Rajputana was not divided into administrative provinces but instead comprised Hindu kingdoms like Hadoti, Marwar, Mewar, and others.[507] The subedars (provincial governors) and faujdars (military commanders) had no direct relation to the common people of these states. Unlike modern British officials such as the Governor-General's agents or residents, their role was limited to collecting imperial revenue (matalba) and keeping the Mughal emperors informed about the policies and activities of the Rajput rulers.

Form of Kota State – From Madhosinghji’s time, the Kota state was an organized kingdom. The number of districts would sometimes increase or decrease, but practically, Kota remained a Hada state. Its governance system was largely under the authority of the Madhani rulers. During this period, Hindu law was fully prevalent, and all the civilians in this region considered Kota Naresh (King) as their Ruler.During the Mughal rule, especially after Jahangir, the construction of new temples was generally prohibited. However, in the Kota state, several temples were built not only during the reign of

[507] This picture of Rajputana is different from the one given in ' Ain-i-Akbari', but
"Ain-e-Akbari is a fictional picture, not a real portrait of style of governance of that time " - Sir J. N. Sarkar : Mughal Administration, p. 257.

Shahjahan but also during Aurangzeb's rule. Bhimsinghji renamed Shergarh as "Barsana" and Kota as "Nandgram." Mukundsinghji fortified the Mukandra hills for military purposes. These events were possible because the Kota rulers exercised complete authority over this region. Bhimsinghji even had the power to remove and appoint Muslim qazis personally. The Mughals' influence on internal governance was limited to the use of their coinage.

Chaudhary and Qanungo in the Mughal Administration In every district (pargana), the Qanungo (Accountant) was responsible for maintaining records of land under cultivation and barren land, as well as improving agricultural productivity. The appointment of Qanungos in every district of the empire, including those within the jagirs of Hindu rulers, was made by the Emperor. This appointment was formalized through an imperial decree (farman) bearing the seal of the Emperor and the Vizier (finance minister.)

The Qanungo's duties included promoting agriculture, increasing the population in the region, encouraging people to build better houses, and providing guidance. They were expected to treat the people equally, protect them from injustice, and prevent the jagirdar (landholder or ruler) from acting unjustly or harshly. If the jagirdar ignored their advice, the Qanungo was required to report the matter truthfully to the Emperor. Additionally, they maintained clear records of the region's land, revenue, income, and expenditures, submitting these annually to the "Daftar Khana Aali" (the highest accounting department).

Orders were issued to the administrators, revenue officials, and jagirdars of each district to consider the Qanungo's suggestions, advice, and records as credible. The Qanungo’s role was limited to matters within their jurisdiction. All officials, including Pargana(district-level authorities), Sabeel (the public welfare) Chaudharies (Land Revenue Collector), muqaddams, (Representative of Farmers or Laborer) and public and farmers, were instructed to cooperate with the Qanungo, seeking their advice and

benefiting from their knowledge and experience in resolving complex issues.[508]

The imperial decree for a Qanungo's appointment was not issued repeatedly. Qanungos were typically hereditary positions. Upon the death of a Qanungo, their son was required to obtain a new decree, which was usually granted unless there were exceptional reasons. In larger districts, multiple Qanungos could be appointed. If a deceased Qanungo had more than one son, all sons were designated as Qanungos of the district. These officials were generally Hindus.

The Qanungo received approximately two percent of the land revenue collected from the district as remuneration, known as "Qanungo's Rasoom" (fee). Even today, descendants of these Qanungos are present in the princely states of Rajasthan and are still referred to by the title "Qanungo."In the Kota state, certain practices and titles were derived from Mughal administrative systems, even though the state functioned with considerable autonomy.The descendants of these Qanungos still receive allowances, although they no longer perform their historical duties. This allowance is not for service but for their maintenance. During Akbar's reign, an attempt was made to pay Qanungos fixed salaries:First-grade Qanungos received ₹20 monthly,Second-grade Qanungos received ₹30,Third-grade Qanungos received ₹40.However, this system was short-lived, and in regions like Rajasthan, providing a share of revenue proved more practical.

Control of Kota Rulers over Qanungos Although Qanungos and Chaudharis were nominally connected to Mughal administration, in practice, they operated under Hindu

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[508] Farman Jahangiri, which has been received from Lala Bhanwarlal Karkun Pensioner Kota State.

(Lala Bhavarlal's ancestors served as Qanungos of Pargana Kota, under the administrative unit of Sarkar Garh Ranthambore, within the Suba of Ajmer during the reign of Emperor Jahangir. Although the region of Kota and its surroundings had been under the control of the Hada Rajputs since Samvat 1321 (1264 CE), it was still officially recorded in the Mughal administrative offices as "Pargana Kota," "Sarkar Garh Ranthambore," and "Suba Ajmer.")

rulers. They obtained imperial farmans (order)primarily to enhance their prestige. In Kota, all Qanungos followed the commands of the Kota rulers. Orders issued for the districts were addressed to the Thakur, Chaudhary, and Qanungo of the respective pargana.

Jagir and Muqta – The authority of Hindu rulers over parganas was considered in three forms: Jagir, Muqta, and Ijara. The Mughal connection to parganas under Jagir was nominal. The Mughals regarded Hindu principalities as Jagirs, but in reality, these were hereditary states. Hindu rulers accepted Mughal suzerainty, but the Rajput states were not Jagirs granted by the Mughals. The Mughals never dared to seize the ancestral states of any Rajput ruler. For example, though Bahadur Shah and Farrukhsiyar were displeased with Kota, neither attempted to annex it. At most, they encouraged Bhudhsinghji to seize Kota.The parganas of Baran and Mau frequently changed hands between Kota and Bundi under the Mughals, but they were never fully absorbed into the Mughal crownlands (Khalisa). Moreover, the Mughals never targeted the capital parganas of these states. The parganas under Muqta, however, did not enjoy the same status. Hindu rulers did not have as much authority over Muqta parganas as they did over Jagir parganas. The revenue demand (Matalaba) for Muqta parganas was also higher than that for Jagir parganas.

The Jagir parganas were essentially hereditary territories of Hindu rulers, while the Muqta parganas were under Mughal ownership. These were entrusted to Hindu rulers as a special favor, primarily to ensure smooth revenue collection and to enhance the rulers' prestige.Ijara was similar to Muqta and emerged during the decline of the Mughal Empire when the emperors lacked the strength to manage distant territories. Using this method, rulers like Sawai Jaisinghji of Jaipur acquired many parganas. The only difference between Muqta and Ijara was in name: Muqta was granted as a favor, while Ijara was a result of practical necessity.Muqta and Ijara also became prevalent in Kota. Sometimes, the rulers of Kota assigned specific villages as Muqta to prominent individuals or

Bohras. The Marathas, for example, leased the entire pargana of Keshorai Patan as an Ijara.

Matalaba - The matalaba (revenue demand) of the parganas of the Kota state was typically deposited in the capitals of the Ajmer or Ujjain provinces. When Aurangzeb was engaged in distant southern campaigns against the Marathas, the matalaba was sent to Aurangabad in the south. Before being deposited into the imperial treasury, it was the duty of the Kota ruler to safeguard the funds. If there was a delay in depositing the matalaba, envoys (Ahadis) were sent by the subedar (provincial governor) to remind them. These envoys were often appeased with rewards in Kota.

Whether or not to pardon delays in payment depended on the subedar's discretion. This is why efforts were always made to keep the subedar pleased. Whenever the subedar of Malwa or Ajmer passed through the Kota state or visited Kota, the Kota ruler spent lavishly on his hospitality. Generous gifts were offered to the subedar, his family, his associates, and even his servants to ensure their satisfaction.

Such expenditures on the subedar's hospitality were not without purpose. A satisfied subedar could wield considerable influence—such as postponing the matalaba of certain parganas in his province for a year or two, which was a common practice. During the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign, such leniencies became more frequent. Sometimes, full or partial waivers of the matalaba were granted by presenting valid reasons. For a ruler unable to pay the entire matalaba in one go, installment arrangements were made upon the subedar's recommendation.

It is not clear how much total matalaba (revenue demand) the Kota state had to pay for all its parganas. In the year Samvat 1746, an installment of ₹30,000 was deposited for one month. If all the installments were equal, the annual matalaba would amount to approximately ₹3.5 lakhs. However, this amount could vary and might increase or decrease.

Intervention by the Emperor – Although the emperor could intervene in any matter at will, most interventions were related to religious issues. In the princely states, the

emperor's officials collected the jizya tax. These officials directly entered the Hindu rulers' parganas and strictly collected the jizya, a practice introduced by Aurangzeb.

Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan considered it sufficient for Rajput rulers to acknowledge their suzerainty and serve as their mansabdars. However, Aurangzeb, being a staunch Sunni, regarded the strict collection of jizya and the demolition of temples as part of his religious duty. During the reign of Maharao Bhimsinghji, the people of Kota state were severely oppressed by the imperial officials while collecting the jizya, prompting the distressed subjects to complain to their ruler. However, who could oppose the emperor’s orders?

Aurangzeb not only enforced this within his empire but also banned the construction of new temples in Rajputana. Small temples or chhatris (ornamental pavilions) were sometimes constructed in secluded places, but there was constant anxiety about keeping this hidden from the emperor. Aurangzeb would often demolish temples along the route whenever he passed through a princely state. In areas around his camp, the ringing of bells or the blowing of conch shells was forbidden.

Despite his intolerance, Aurangzeb occasionally permitted the construction of small temples, which seemed surprising. His weak and disorganized administration is evident from the fact that the Jain temple at Chandkhedi was constructed during his reign. Although its construction was repeatedly ordered to be stopped, the temple was eventually completed. Furthermore, at Chandkhedi, the Kota ruler strictly instructed both Hindus and Muslims to avoid harming any living creature.

Condition of the Muslim Population – In Hindu states, Shahar Qazis (city judges) were appointed by the emperor for the Muslim population. In places like Kota, Baran, Shergarh, and Anta, such Shahar Qazis were designated. They were granted some land as tax-exempt property and collected a kind of tax from Muslims on occasions like weddings. Festivals like Muharram, Eid, and others were celebrated under their leadership. On special occasions, Muslims presented offerings

to the Shahar Qazi. It was also the Qazi's responsibility to protect cemeteries, mosques, and dargahs.

For festivals like Eid and Muharram, elephants, horses, and soldiers were provided by the state to enhance the grandeur of the processions. In some places, Hindu rulers even participated in these processions. However, the rulers of Kota never joined such processions. Permission to build mosques was generally granted. Many mosques near Hindu temples were built either under the pressure of emperors or due to the tolerance of the Hindu populace.In Muslim-dominated areas, legal cases involving Muslims were decided according to Islamic law as prescribed in the Quran, and the opinion of the Shahar Qazi held significant importance. However, in Hindu states, customary practices and traditions were generally followed. The Shahar Qazi of Kota was considered more esteemed compared to Qazis of other towns. Kota’s royal decrees were often received through the Shahar Qazi, likely because he was literate in Persian and could translate the decrees.

During the reign of Bhimsinghji, the growing weakness of the Mughal Empire led to a decline in the status of Qazis in Kota. Bhimsinghji frequently dismissed Qazis and appointed others in their place. Several dargahs and mosques received financial aid or land grants from the state. These were not all granted by the emperors or under their pressure; some grants were given.

Broad Influence – The Mughal rule and culture had a profound impact on Rajasthan. Although Rajasthan did not have as deep a connection with Mughal rule and culture as other provinces of India, no indigenous state could completely escape the influence of the ruling class.The Mughal administrative system, warfare techniques, language, conduct, and culture had a significant impact on the annexed Rajput states. Even Mewar, which remained a consistent opponent of the Mughals and considered the protection of religion and culture its duty, could not remain untouched by Mughal influence.The administration of Kota state was modeled on the Mughal system, and there was no distinctive feature in it that

could be considered a pure aspect of Hindu culture. The only difference was that the administrative structure of Kota was not as strong and well-established as that of the Mughal Empire.For the internal management of Kota state, the language used was Hadoti, not Persian. However, even Hadoti was heavily laden with Persian words. While Hinduism was dominant in the culture, and there was no decline in religious and social conservatism, Mughal civilization, etiquette, and attire held significant sway among men.

Land Administration – The management of land, army, and justice in Kota state followed the Mughal system. During Akbar's reign, Todar Mal divided the land based on its yield and fixed the revenue accordingly. This revenue was typically set at one-third of the produce, and farmers could pay either in cash or produce as per their preference. This policy continued throughout the Mughal Empire after Akbar.

In Kota state, the division of land was perhaps never formally conducted, but revenue was collected based on Todar Mal's calculations. Royal officials would measure the standing crops in the presence of the village's primary farmers. The farmer would then deposit one-third of the assessed yield with the state. Adjustments were made to the one-third share based on the product. Land measurement was generally undertaken only when exemptions or concessions were granted.

Military Administration – The structure of the army in Kota state closely resembled that of the Mughal military. The main components of the army included elephants, cavalry, infantry, and artillery. Camel-mounted troops, introduced during Akbar's time, were also considered useful. In addition, several non-combat personnel, such as attendants, grooms, barbers, armorers, and merchants, accompanied the army.Although the army appeared large, only about 30–40% of the troops actively engaged in combat. After Akbar's reign, the Mughals began taking their women along during military campaigns, but the Rajputs did not adopt this practice. While the Mughals adhered to strategic formations during battles, the Rajputs often broke ranks and viewed self-sacrifice as a

sacred duty when victory seemed unattainable. This valor was demonstrated by Mukundsinghji in the battle of Dharmat, Jagatsinghji during the siege of Bijapur, Kishoresinghji in the battle of Arani, Ramsinghji in the field of Jajav, and Bhimsinghji in the battle of Pandhar.Rajput weaponry was similar to that of the Mughals, including armor, swords, shields, spears, lances, cannons, and firearms, many of which were of foreign origin. While some weapons were manufactured in India, nobles typically used arms from Iran, Turkistan, and Arabia. Elephants, horses, and camels were also protected from bullets and projectiles by covering them with steel plates and mesh armor.The attire of Rajput soldiers and officers also resembled that of the Mughals. The Rajputs adopted the Mughal terminology for military officers, units, and operations. Terms like *Faujdar*, *Filkhana*, *Shuturkhana*, *Topkhana*, and *Harawal* were used by Rajputs in the same sense as the Mughals.The composition, organization, operation, and resources of the Kota state's army bore no distinct traits attributable to Rajput tradition. From beginning to end, the methods were derived from the Mughals. Practices such as besieging forts, tunneling to breach fort walls, attacking under the cover of artillery, positioning troops on the right and left flanks, and reserving a portion of the army for the final assault were all Mughal war tactics adopted by the Rajputs.

Some practices had been prevalent in India before the Mughals but were later assimilated into Mughal methods. Over time, these practices had evolved so significantly that their original Hindu character was no longer recognizable.

Justice – The justice system in Rajput states was traditional. Offenders were punished according to the customs of the Caste and land. With the arrival of Muslims, changes began to occur, and with the strengthening of governance during Akbar's time, the influence of Islamic law on the penal system increased. The ancient Hindu penal system was harsh, with punishments such as limb amputation and death sentence for several crimes. However, with Muslim influence, Hindu penal policies became more brutal and savage. The Mughal penal system, however, was neither fixed nor systematic. There were

no clear rules regarding the punishment for particular crimes. Additionally, punishment such as cutting off hands or noses was not considered uncommon. When the death penalty was imposed, provincial governors might have thought it through, but appealing such severe punishments to the emperor was almost impossible. Rajput rulers fully adopted the Mughal brutality in their penal system.

In common cases, village councils (Panchayats) made the decisions. Villagers were often hesitant to seek justice from the state for fear of severe punishment. There was no separate department for justice at that time. The officials of the district would administer justice according to their understanding, mood, or personal interest. Travel was difficult, and roads were often not safe, so villagers were generally content with the decisions made by their local Panchayats.(governing body) District officers would administer punishments based on their discretion in cases brought before them. Each district's main village had a "Kotwali" (police station), where the Kotwal (police officer) would arrest offenders and administer punishments, sometimes consulting with the Thakur (local leader) and Chaudhary (village head). Land disputes and financial matters were handled by the Chaudhary, Qanungo, and Thakur, not the Kotwal. People dissatisfied with these decisions would travel to the capital to file complaints. These complaints were usually resolved quickly. Official documentation was rare, and if it happened, it was very minimal. For crimes like theft, robbery, and murder, punishments were generally amputation or the death penalty. For fights, quarrels, and adultery, fines were imposed. Violating royal decrees was considered a grave crime. In such cases, there was no fixed punishment; a person who fell out of favor with the king could have their wealth confiscated, be executed, or be exiled after being dishonored or mutilated. The brutalities that were prevalent in the Mughal Empire were similarly practiced in Hindu states. In Kota state, punishments such as being blown up by cannon, trampled by elephants, or decapitation were used. The people of Kota state had no recognized right to appeal against the court's decisions. Even if someone had the courage to reach Delhi, there was little hope for a hearing at that time. Therefore, whatever the state did was accepted as final by the people.

Court Etiquette – The king treated his landowners and brothers in a manner similar to the Mughal emperor's treatment of his nobles. The court in Kota followed the court etiquette of the Mughal empire completely. Great attention was paid to where the landowners would sit. The practice of showing respect (*Tazeem*) was also adopted from the Mughals. Referring to the throne as *Gaddi* or *Takht* (throne) was a tradition that originated during the Mughal era. The respect for the throne (*Gaddi*) was established by the Mughals.

Amod Pramod (Joy and Celebration) – In the Kota state, festivals like *Gangor Ghat*, *Elephant Holi*, *Navde ki Holi(Holi Celebration in boat)*, and *Gangor Bagh* were all imitations of Mughal customs. Akbar and Jahangir used to celebrate Holi in their palaces and royal gardens, playing with the women of their inner courts, royal officials, and the women of the public. The traditions of elephant and *Navde ki Holi* were direct imitations of Mughal practices. Gangor Ghat and Bagh were merely transformations of the *Meena Bazaar* (a market tradition). The practice of elephant, leopard, and Boar fights, prevalent even during Chandragupta Maurya's reign in India, possibly continued into the post-Rajput period and may have been learned by Muslims from Hindus. However, in the Kota state, it was directly learned from the Mughals, and the arrangements were made in the same Mughal style.

Social Life – Mughal rule had a deep influence on the social life in Rajputana. During Hindu weddings, many rituals associated with the groom were influenced by Mughal culture. The use of Urdu and Persian became widespread across the Rajput states. In the Kota state, only Hindi was used for internal administration, but in other states, Persian still had some use. Men's clothing was similar to Mughal attire, but women's clothing remained unaffected by Muslim influence. Mughal etiquette became widespread in gatherings and feasts. The use of hookah, perfumes, and betel leaves were adopted from Mughal practices.

Living Monuments – Mughal rule practically lasted for about 175 years in Rajputana. The Kota state remained connected with the Mughals until the death of Bhimsinghji,

around 1720 CE . The Mughal emperors considered Rajasthan as a province of their empire, and the Hindu rulers as their feudal lords. Meanwhile, Rajput rulers tried every possible way to protect their traditional states. After the decline of Mughal power, particularly after Nadir Shah's invasion, the Rajputs began to dream of regaining independence. However, during this time, the Marathas' power was rapidly rising, and their wave of victory was about to reach Rajputana as well. It is uncertain how long the Mughal Empire would have lasted if the Marathas had not risen, or what the present condition of Rajput states would have been if the Mughals had weakened and the Rajput states had gained independence. Historically, it can be said that, although the Rajput states were able to withstand the wave of Maratha victories and have been linked with British rule for over a century, they are still living monuments to Mughal power and culture.



Maharao Durjanshalji
(Samvat 1780 - 1813 Vikram)

18
Maharao Durjanshalji



Jag Mandir, Kishoree Sagar Lake, Kota

The historic Jag Mandir, located in the middle of Kishoree Sagar Lake, was built in the 18th century by Queen Brij Kunwar of the Kota State.



Brij Vilas Palace, Kota

Brij Vilas Palace, located in the gardens of Kota, was built in the 18th century by Maharao Durjanshalji, the ruler of the Kota State.



Barah Dari, Brij Vilas Palace, Kota

"Barah Dari" refers to a pavilion with twelve doors or arches, designed for ventilation and aesthetics, often used in royal architecture.

Maharao Durjanshalji

(Samvat 1780 - 1813 Vikram)



Arjunsinghji's Will – Maharao Arjunsinghji did not have any children. His real brothers were Shyamsinghji, Durjanshalji, and Kishansinghji, with Shyamsinghji being the eldest. According to Rajput tradition, Shyamsinghji should have been the successor to the throne. However, Durjanshalji ascended the throne, and the nobles accepted him as their ruler. It is said that Arjunsinghji had a deep affection for Durjanshalji and considered Shyamsinghji unfit for the administration of the state. During his lifetime, he expressed his desire in front of the major nobles of the state that, after his demise, Durjanshalji should be seated on the throne.

Political Situation of the Country – During this time, there was a significant shift in the political landscape of the country. The Mughal throne was weakening, and their control over Rajputana had nearly ended. Due to the decline of Mughal power, a sense of anarchy spread across Rajputana. Had there been a powerful emperor on the throne in Delhi, Shyamsinghji might have appealed in the royal court, but at that time, no one would have listened to his calls in the crumbling Darul-Sultanat (the Mughal Empire). Therefore, Shyamsinghji began seeking allies within Rajputana itself.

Shyamsinghji Took Shelter under Sawai Jaisinghji – Due to Bundi, hostility had existed between Kota and Jaipur since the time of Maharao Bhimsingh Ji. After Bhimsinghji's death, the administration of Kota was transferred from Bundi to Kota. However, the enmity between Kota and Jaipur could not be erased. At that time, Sawai Jaisinghji’s power had greatly increased. He was favored by Aurangzeb, Bahadur

Shah, Jahandar Shah, and now Muhammad Shah. The Sayeed brothers had been eliminated, and thus Jaisinghji's influence spread everywhere. Seeing this, Shyamsinghji sought refuge with Sawai Jaisinghji and requested his help in securing the kingdom of Kota.[509]

The Battle of Udpuriya – Sawai Jaisinghji provided military assistance to Shyamsinghji. With this army, Shyamsinghji set out from Jaipur towards Kota. From Kota, a military force under Durjanshalji's leadership also set out and confronted them in the fields of Udpuriya (Nijamat Digod). A fierce battle occurred between the two armies.

Three thousand men from both sides were killed. Shyamsinghji was wounded and died on the battlefield.[510] As soon as this event occurred, the Jaipur army fled, and Durjanshalji rang the victory bell. Driven by the intoxication of power and bravery, Durjanshalji continued fighting, but when his brother was killed, he sat next to his brother's lifeless body and wept for hours, saying that if his brother could be revived, he would give him the kingdom of Kota and himself take up a life of renunciation. This incident haunted him throughout his life. He had no children, and whenever the topic arose, he would recall his brother's death and say that due to the fratricide, he could never have a son. In the year 1797 CE , at Udpuriya (Nijamat Digod), he had a memorial constructed in the form of a Chhatri (Umbrella pavilion) in his brother's memory.[511]

Main Event— Durjanshalji's reign was mostly spent in the conflict with Bundi. He made continuous efforts to bring both Buddhasinghji and then Ummedsinghji to power. For this

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509 Thakur Lakshmanadan.

510 (i) Shyamaru Durjansal ke, bho bhuhit ghamasaan.
Agraj Shyamhin maari kai, bho nrip dujjansaal."
("Shyamaru (Shyamsinghji) fought fiercely with Durjanshal,and by killing his elder brother Shyam, the cruel king (Durjanshal) gained victory.)Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, p. 3094.
(ii). Tod: Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 559.

511 (i) Tod : Rajasthan.
(ii) Document Samvat 1797.

purpose, he met Maharana of Udaipur several times, fought with Jaisinghji, and suffered immense losses, amounting to lakhs of rupees. He showed such generosity that, forgetting old enmities, he took Buddhasinghji's family under his protection.

Jaisinghji's Control Over Bundi — When Buddhasinghji arrived in Bundi, Jaisinghji sent a minister named Nagraj to Bundi. Buddhasinghji was unfit to rule, and Nagraj was a strong ally of Jaisinghji. Therefore, as soon as he arrived, Nagraj took control of the administration. Buddhasinghji was deeply disturbed by this, but defying Jaisinghji’s orders was beyond his strength. Even if he tried to protest, whom could he approach? The Mughal power had already weakened, and the Maratha rule had not yet solidified. Moreover, after enduring many adversities and being constantly involved in certain rituals, Buddhasinghji was mentally disturbed.Jaisinghji stated that he had appointed Nagraj to ensure that Buddhasinghji’s rule in Bundi remained intact and the administration became strong. It is unclear what Jai Singhji's true intention was.[512]

Jaisinghji's Recall of Nagraj — Buddhasinghji’s queen, who was Jai Singhji’s sister, did not like Nagraj’s control and believed that Jaisinghji intended to annex Bundi. She wrote a letter to her brother, opposing Nagraj’s appointment and requested his recall. In response, Jaisinghji expressed regret and replied that indeed, difficult times were ahead for Bundi. Following his sister’s wishes, he recalled Nagraj and appointed Salamsingh as Buddhasinghji's prime minister, allowing him to rule independently.[513]

Jaisinghji's Reassertion of Control Over Bundi — During this period, a son was born to the Kachwaha queen, named Bhawanisingh. Along with this, the behavior of Buddhasinghji led to the widespread belief that he was not the legitimate son of Buddhasinghji. This news reached Jaisinghji,

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[512] Vanshabhaskara, fourth part , Page 3094.

[513] above-mentioned

causing him to begin doubting the character of his sister.Once, when the Kachwaha queen was in Jaipur, Jaisinghji mentioned the situation, which made her furious and she became determined to kill her brother. She became angry and came to Bundi. Jaisinghji, cunningly, summoned Bhawani Singh to Jaipur and had him killed. The Kachwaha queen mourned deeply for this and wrote a letter to Jaisinghji through Buddhasinghji, stating that Bhawanisingh was indeed her son. Upon reading this letter, Jai Singhji was deeply saddened and made Buddhasinghji vow that any child born to his second queen would be handed over to him. Jai Singhji wanted that if a son was born, he should be killed, and if a daughter was born, she should be married to his son Ishwarsingh, thus avenging the death of Bhawani Singh. After some time, a son named Umed Singh was born to Buddhasinghji's second queen. However, Buddhasinghji did not hand him over to Jai Singhji. Angered by this, Jai Singhji invaded Bundi. Without fighting, Buddhasinghji fled from Bundi, and Jai Singhji took control of Bundi, appointing Dalelsingh, the son of Raja Salamsingh, as the ruler of Bundi under his authority.[514]

Buddhasinghji's Attempts and Defeat in Regaining Bundi — After being defeated by Jai Singhji, Buddhasinghji moved to Kanikoh and awaited a favorable opportunity. During this time, the Maratha power was steadily growing stronger.When the Marathas, seeing the Mughal state in a decayed and weakened state, advanced towards the north, Muhammad Shah sent Sawai Jai Singh to the Malwa region to stop their devastating progress.[515] Jai Singh went there, and meanwhile, Buddhasinghji gathered a small army and launched an attack on Bundi. Salamsingh confronted him near Kushasthal, and a fierce battle ensued.

Durjanshalji Helped Buddhasinghji — Many soldiers from Kota fought on Buddhasinghji's side in this battle, and Abhay Singh Hada displayed immense valor and achieved

[514] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, pp. 3095, 3116, 3127, 3131 and 3133.
[515] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, p. 3134.

martyrdom.[516])However, Buddhasinghji was defeated and fled from the battlefield. He took his queens with him and went to Kota, leaving them under Maharao Durjanshalji's care. He himself went to Udaipur to seek help from Maharana.[517]

Sawai Jai Singhji's Coronation of Dalelsingh — After helping his friend Nizam-ul-Mulk [518],against the Marathas in Malwa, Sawai Jai Singh returned to Bundi via the Mukundra route and crowned Dalelsingh as the ruler of Bundi. He also arranged a marriage between Dalelsingh and his daughter.

Durjanshalji Accepted the Situation Reluctantly — Maharao Durjanshalji, who had helped Buddhasinghji, was greatly angered by Sawai Jai Singhji, who had sworn to secure Dalelsingh's rule. In Ujjain, Jai Singh had obtained permission from several rulers regarding this matter and had a document written confirming his actions.

Now Jai Singhji held court in Bundi and presented the document to Maharao Durjanshalji, demanding his signature. Compelled by circumstances, Durjanshalji affixed his seal to it. Furthermore, when Sawai Jai Singhji arranged the engagement of his daughter Krishnakanwar to Dalelsingh, the ruler of Kota presented a Saropav (robe) of honor and two horses each to Jai Singhji and Dalelsingh as a gesture of respect. After all matters were concluded, Jai Singhji proudly declared to the Kota ruler that Dalelsingh was now firmly established as the ruler of Bundi.[519]

Buddhasinghji Sought Help from Maharana and the Jaipur-Udaipur Conflict —Buddhasinghji, having left his queens in Kota and his son Umed Singh in Begun, went to Udaipur to seek assistance. Buddhasinghji had previously married the daughter of Maharana Amarsingh II of Udaipur, though she had since passed away. At this time, Maharana Sangramsinghji II ruled Udaipur. Despite the change in

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[516] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV p. 3139-63.
[517] Vanshabhaskara, Part IV p. 3185
[518] Irvine : Vol. 1 and 2 .
[519] Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, p. 3192-93.

leadership, Buddhasinghji hoped for aid due to this familial connection.[520]Maharana Sangramsingh II also harbored animosity towards Jaisinghji. The reason was tied to the marriage of his sister, Chandrakanwar, to Sawai Jaisinghji. This marriage had been arranged on the condition that any son born to Chandrakanwar would become the heir to the Jaipur throne. In Samvat 1784, Chandrakanwar gave birth to Madho Singh. However, prior to Madho Singh's birth, Jaisinghji already had two sons, Shri Singh and Ishwari Singh. Consequently, Madho Singh's birth gave rise to a complex and contentious succession issue. If Madho Singh were given the throne, it would have caused conflict in Jaipur, and if he were denied the throne, it would have led to opposition from Udaipur. To resolve this issue, Sawai Jaisinghji attempted to have Madho Singh killed, but the attempt was unsuccessful.[521] This only intensified the animosity between Maharana Sangramsinghji II and Sawai Jaisinghji, with the Maharana now making efforts to place Madhosingh on the throne of Jaipur.

Maharana Invites Durjanshalji- When Buddhasinghji sought assistance from the Maharana, the Maharana invited the ruler of Kota for consultations. However, Maharao Durjanshalji had not yet arrived in Udaipur when Buddhasinghji, disheartened by the indifferent behavior in the Maharana's court, decided to go to Baansbahala to get married .

When Durjanshalji finally reached Udaipur, a consultation took place between the two rulers regarding how to assist Buddhasinghji. During the discussion, the Maharana's trusted advisor, a Brahmin named Mayaram, was also present. He remarked to Maharao Durjanshalji, "Whatever troubles Buddhasinghji is facing now, you are partly responsible for them. By first taking Bundi, you showed Jaisinghji the path to seizing it."Hearing this, Maharao Durjanshalji understood that these words reflected the Maharana's own sentiments. Disheartened, he returned to Kota. Meanwhile, Buddhasinghji

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[520] Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, p. 3196.

[521] Ojha: History of Rajputana, Part 3, P 928.

married in Baansbalaha and stayed there, indulging in a carefree life.[522]

The Kachhwahi Maharani's Efforts to Reclaim Bundi — Buddhasinghji, perpetually immersed in alcohol and opium, was wasting away his life first in Baansbalaha and then in Begun. Meanwhile, his Kachhwahi Maharani remained in Kota, enduring her days of misfortune. During this time, a dispute arose in the household of Salamsingh, presenting an opportunity for the Kachhwahi Maharani to act. Salamsingh had two sons, Dalel Singh and Pratap Singh. Dalel Singh had ascended the throne of Bundi, while Pratap Singh was relegated to the status of a mere jagirdar (feudal landlord). He served his brother Dalel Singh and had fought valiantly in the battle of Kushasthal. Later, however, Dalel Singh gravely insulted him in a fit of carelessness, prompting Pratap Singh to plan his revenge.Pratap Singh traveled to Kota and presented a proposal to the Kachhwahi Maharani for reclaiming Bundi. The Maharani approved the plan, deciding to seek assistance from the Marathas and use their military strength to restore Bundi to Buddhasinghji.[523]

The Maratha Campaign Against Bundi — Pratap Singh left Kota and traveled south, where he met Bajirao Peshwa, Pandit Ramchandra, Ranoji Scindia, Anandrao Parmar, and Malharrao Holkar. After negotiations, he agreed to pay six lakh rupees to the Maratha leaders, who then marched on Bundi. On the day of a solar eclipse, during the new moon of the month of Vaishakh in the year Samvat 1791, the Marathas laid siege to Bundi. Against the combined forces of the Marathas, Salamsingh and Dalel Singh could not hold out for long. Ultimately, the Marathas emerged victorious and entered the city with great enthusiasm. The victorious Marathas took control of Bundi captured Salamsingh and declared Buddhasinghji as the ruler once more.[524]

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[522] Vanshabhaskara, Quaternary, Pages 3196 and 3200

[523] Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3215

[524] iVanshabhaskara, Quaternary, 3216-18.
ii. Tod: Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 537.

The Kachhwahi Maharani Ties Rakhi to Holkar
Hearing of the Maratha victory, the Kachhwahi Maharani traveled to Bundi and extended a warm welcome to the victorious Maratha forces. She tied a rakhi to Malharrao Holkar, declaring him her brother, and treated his wife with the respect of an elder sister-in-law. After re-establishing Buddhasinghji's reign in Bundi, Malharrao Holkar sent a letter to inform him of their victory as he prepared to return to his homeland. However, Buddhasinghji, plagued by a disturbed mind, was living out his days in Begun, filled with despair and hopelessness about regaining his lost kingdom. When he received Holkar's letter, he read it with indifference and did not even come to meet Holkar.[525]

Sawai Jaisinghji Regains Control of Bundi-With the Maratha's military assistance, Buddhasinghji's rule was restored in Bundi. The Kachhwahi Maharani began residing in Bundi, with Pratap Singh as her chief advisor. However, in the 18th century, it was impossible to maintain control over a kingdom with external support alone. After completing their mission, the Maratha army departed. It was now up to Buddhasinghji to maintain his authority in Bundi. But he had drowned his strength and courage in indulgence and alcohol. He lacked the willpower and enthusiasm to rule. In such circumstances, what could the Kachhwahi Maharani or Pratap Singh do? A skilled warrior and shrewd politician like Sawai Jaisinghji was not one to easily accept defeat. As soon as he learned that Buddhasinghji had been reinstated in Bundi and that Salam Singh had been captured by the Marathas, he began planning to recapture Bundi. Soon, with a 20,000-strong army, he launched an attack on Bundi. Pratap Singh lacked the courage to face this force. On seeing the advancing army, he abandoned the Bundi throne and sought refuge with the Marathas. Without facing any resistance, Sawai Jaisinghji's

[525] i Vanshabhaskara, Quaternary, Page 3220.
ii. Government: Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 1, pp. 251-52.

army took control of Bundi. The Kachhwahi Maharani left Bundi and went to live in Begun.[526]

Durjanshalji's Marriage On Ashadha Krishna 9, Samvat 1791, Maharao Durjanshalji was married to Princess Brajkunwar Bai of Udaipur. This princess was the daughter of Maharana Sangramsinghji II. Since Sangramsinghji had passed away in “Magh” Samvat 1790, Brajkunwar Bai’s brother, Maharana Jagatsinghji, performed her *kanyadaan* (ritual gifting of the bride).[527]

19
Severance Of Relations With The Mughals



Muhammad Shah’s Precarious Position Even after escaping the grip of the Sayyids, Muhammad Shah’s position was far from stable. At this time, he was around 20 years old, had several children, and was often unwell. He was entangled with a Muslim woman named Koki and spent most of his time with eunuchs in the royal palace.[528]Key positions in the empire were granted to individuals who could pay the emperor hefty bribes. Large *jagirs* (land grants) were distributed among princes and princesses, leading to administrative chaos, weakness, and decline. The royal treasury was depleted, and constant wars and mismanagement caused severe famine in several parts of the country.[529]

The Rathores’ Attack on Delhi After Farrukhsiyar's death, the political turmoil that ensued was fully exploited by Ajitsinghji. While maintaining an outward friendship with the Sayyids, he stopped remitting imperial revenues and ceased adhering to royal decrees. Encouraged by Muhammad Shah’s

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526 Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3221.
527 Ojha : History of Rajputana, Part III, p. 933 .
528 Khafikhana: page. 940.
529 Khafikhana:

weakness, he went further and established control over Ajmer as well.[530]Muhammad Shah appealed to several nobles to lead an expedition against Ajitsinghji, but all of them evaded the task with various excuses. Finally, Muzaffar Ali Khan marched against them. However, his soldiers became uncontrollable and deserted their camps, fleeing to their respective villages. Taking advantage of this situation, Ajitsinghji sent a force of 12,000 armed camel riders under the leadership of his son Abhaysinghji towards Narnaul. They not only plundered Narnaul, Alwar, Tijara, and Shahjahanpur, but also launched a raid as far as Sarai Ali Vardi Khan, just 8 miles from Delhi, looting extensively and causing chaos in Delhi.[531] At this time, Muhammad Shah was in a precarious position. The Maharana of Mewar had already turned against the Mughals, and now Marwar had also joined forces with them.

Muhammad Shah's Need for Durjanshalji's Alliance Bhudhsinghji, immersed in luxury, despair, and negligence, held no significant influence, either as an ally or opponent, for Muhammad Shah. Hence, only two rulers in Rajputana were noteworthy and vital for the emperor to keep on his side: Sawai Jaisinghji of Amer and Maharao Durjanshalji of Kota. Sawai Jaisinghji had never overtly abandoned the emperor's side but had secretly allied with the Marathas, encouraging them to establish dominance over Malwa and drive Muslims out of North India. Despite this, Muhammad Shah had complete trust in him and wanted to ensure Durjanshalji also remained aligned with him.

Durjanshalji Honored by the Emperor Even though it was well known that there was mutual animosity between Durjanshalji and Sawai Jaisinghji, and that showing respect to Durjanshalji might displease Jaisinghji, Emperor Muhammad Shah considered it appropriate for the benefit of the empire to maintain traditional courtesies with Durjanshalji. Thus, upon ascending the throne, the emperor sent a ceremonial elephant, a robe of honor (khilat), and a formal decree for the ascension (Masnadnashini) to Durjanshalji. At that time, this gesture of

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[530] Khafikhana: page 937 .

[531] Irvine , later Mughals, Vol. 2, p. 110.

respect was more necessary for Emperor Muhammad Shah than for Maharao Durjanshalji himself. In response to this honor, Durjanshalji sent his representative, Bhatt Beniram, to the imperial court in Delhi to convey his gratitude to the emperor. Beniram performed the customary rituals of presenting najar (offerings) to the emperor. [532]

Durjanshalji’s Protection of Cows and the Killing of Delhi’s Kotwal Some time after ascending the throne, Durjanshalji visited Delhi and met with the emperor. On his way back to his camp after the meeting, he witnessed a heartbreaking scene: a group of healthy, beautiful cows surrounded by butchers, knives in hand, preparing to slaughter them. Moved by compassion, Durjanshalji refused to avoid the scene despite his companions suggesting they take a different route back to the camp. As a staunch Vaishnavite and the son of the valiant Maharao Bhimsinghji, who had fought battles with the deity Sri Brajanathji’s idol placed in front of him on his palanquin(seat) and ultimately sacrificed his life in devotion, Durjanshalji chose to intervene.

Upon witnessing the pitiful condition of the cows, Maharao Durjanshalji's warrior spirit was ignited. His companions warned him that the cows were meant for the royal kitchen, and forcefully rescuing them might have severe consequences. However, Durjanshalji's determination was unshakable and unstoppable. He commanded the Rajputs accompanying him to attack the butchers. On receiving the order, the Rajputs launched an assault on the butchers. Hearing the commotion, the city Kotwal (chief officer) arrived at the scene and tried to protect the butchers, but he himself was killed in the clash, along with several of his men and the butchers. Durjanshalji rescued the cows and brought them to his camp. From there, he took them to Kota, where they were placed in a gaushala (cow shelter). The descendants of those cows were still present during the reign of Maharao Shatrushalji and were well taken care of. On the surface, it may seem incredible that the ruler of Kota could kill the Kotwal and butchers in the imperial capital, rescue the cows

[532] Kagzaat Saswat (Annexure) of 1780.

intended for the royal kitchen, and take them to his homeland. However, considering the disorder, laxity, and decadence prevailing during Emperor Muhammad Shah's reign, this act does not appear entirely implausible. The following two incidents further illustrate the deplorable condition of the imperial capital at the time.[533]

The refusal to recite the Shah's name in the khutbah: In the summer of Samvat 1783, a Hindu munshi (scribe) converted to Islam, but his wife and daughter did not follow suit. The munshi requested the chief qazi of Delhi, stating that his daughter was a minor and, according to the law, she should also be considered Muslim since he had converted. The daughter denied being a minor, and an investigation was initiated. Later, the daughter admitted to being underage. Based on her statement, the qazi ruled that she was indeed Muslim.

Following this, the Hindus of the Urdu Bazaar gathered and appealed to the Shah for justice. The Shah referred the matter to the Sadarsudoor (religious leader), who began an inquiry in a mosque inside the palace. The Sadarsudoor ruled that the girl was of legal age. The Shah then entrusted the girl to a Hindu merchant. This enraged the Muslims, and nearly

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[533] Regarding this incident, Thakur Lakshmandanji has quoted a verse which is worth mentioning : -

Durjansal gayo Shah ki mulazmat,
Dilli ke bazar beech katak samet ten.
Sankat gau ko dekh vankat mlechhan pe,
Pallyo yon deewaran jyon karaal kaal thet ten.
(Durjanshal went to the service of the Emperor,
In the middle of Delhi's markets, amidst chaos and confusion.
Seeing the distress of the cows, he struck at the vile butchers,
With fury, like the destruction caused by the death's wheel, he acted.)

Kaat ke kasai patasai ke bazar beech,
Kino kotwal ve hawal khagg bhent ten.
Layo ghenu Dilli darbar ten chapeṭ hado,
Kaadhi Hari theṭ jyun aghaasur ke pet ten.
(In the market of the butcher, in the middle of the street,
The constable was given the axe as a gift.
He was brought to the court of Delhi with great respect,
And the god, like in the stomach of Aghasur, was extracted.)

sixty thousand people gathered at Jama Masjid. When the khutbah (sermon) was about to be recited in the name of the Shah, the crowd created an uproar and prevented the khutbah from being read. Not only that, but two Hindus were forcibly captured and converted to Islam.The Mughal emperor, after accepting defeat, imprisoned the girl and had her killed in order to free himself from the Muslims. He had her buried according to Muslim rituals.[534]

Revolt of the Cobblers: One day, lower-class Muslims were celebrating a festival. Muslim cobblers had decorated their neighborhoods with lights and were setting off fireworks. In the evening, a jeweler named Shubhkaran was returning to his home from the royal palace. As Shubhkaran was riding in his Palaki (palanquin,) a firework exploded above him. This caused a dispute between Shubhkaran's followers and the cobblers. Shubhkaran, furious, reached home and ordered his men to attack the cobbler's neighborhood. The soldiers returned and captured a cobbler's son, beating him so badly that he died. The next morning, thousands of cobblers, carrying the boy's body, gathered in front of Shubhkaran's door, making a loud commotion. Shubhkaran took refuge in the royal kitchen. The cobblers then petitioned the emperor, who ordered his minister to arrest Shubhkaran. However, the Vizier (minister) was unable to take action. The next Friday, a large crowd of Muslims gathered at the Juma Mosque. Arabs, Abyssinians, and Turks, led by their respective leaders, began to riot. They prevented the prayers, and they beat the Qazi and his son with kicks and punches until they were half-dead. They dragged the Mufti to the ground and beat him senseless.

When the emperor received the news, he sent his vizier and another noble, Roshand-ud-Daula, along with an army to quell the disturbance. Meanwhile, the royal steward also arrived at the scene with some soldiers. The soldiers, who were Afghans from Khurja, Sikandra, Shahjahanpur, and Farrukhabad, were relentless. The cobblers had no weapons—only shoes. They showered the vizier (Administrative official) and the royal Khansama (steward) with shoes. The steward

[534] Irvine Later Mughals, Vol. 2, pp. 126-27

fought but was wounded, and his sword slipped from his hand. Hundreds of shoes landed on his turban. The royal soldiers then attacked the rebels. The cobblers put up a strong resistance. One royal officer was so large that he could not run away. His soldiers had to carry him on their shoulders. Many royal soldiers hid in the alleys. An officer named Azam Khan took refuge in a potter's house. When he entered, several of the potter's pots were broken, and the enraged potter beat him so severely that he remained bedridden for days. The cobblers burned down the house of Shubhkaran, buried the boy's body there, and built a mosque at the site. This incident was discussed for a long time and became the subject of many Persian and Hindi poems. Nevertheless, the emperor believed that the vizier had done a great job. He placed his turban on vizier’s head in the court as a mark of great respect.

Decline of the Mughals and Rise of Sawai Jaisinghji: The Mughal influence over Rajputana had now waned. This is why, after his defeat in the battlefield of Kushsthal, Budhsinghji did not go to Muhammad Shah but to Maharana of Udaipur. The Maharana of Udaipur confidently summoned Maharao Durjanshalji for consultation. If at that time Muhammad Shah’s power had not been so weak, Maharao Durjanshalji would have hesitated and feared consulting the Maharana of Udaipur against Sawai Jaisinghji. Muhammad Shah would not have known that Buddhsinghji had lost in the Kusha-Sthal battle and had gone to Udaipur for help. Sawai Jaisinghji had earned great respect at Muhammad Shah's court, and the emperor considered him his chief ally. However, Sawai Jaisinghji realized that the Mughal empire's end was near and that Muhammad Shah had no strength. Despite knowing that the three kingdoms—Udaipur, Bundi, and Kota—were preparing against him, he did not ask Muhammad Shah for help. After installing his son-in-law Dalel Singh on the throne of Bundi, Sawai Jaisinghji did acquire a royal decree from Muhammad Shah for him, but it was neither difficult to obtain the decree nor did Muhammad Shah feel any responsibility in issuing it. In reality, at that time, the royal decrees were merely a formality. Sawai Jaisinghji had obtained

the decree to legalize Dalel Singh’s throne, making it a formal action.

Maharao Durjanshalji and the ruler of Udaipur, as well as Bhudhsinghji's queen, all understood that the royal decree was merely a piece of paper and lacked any real power behind it. When Sawai Jaisinghji regained control of Bundi, it became even clearer that the real strength in Rajputana was not with the Mughals but with Sawai Jaisinghji.

The Final Service of Kota Maharaja in the Mughal Army — At this time, the Marathas were advancing into northern India from two sides. In Bundelkhand, Pilla Ji Yadav was looting, while in Malwa and Rajputana, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia were causing havoc as they advanced. When Muhammad Shah saw that Jaisinghji was unable to stop the Marathas, preparations for a major war against the Marathas were made in 1791. A massive imperial army was dispatched, with Vizier Kamruddeen heading toward Bundelkhand and Bakshi Khandaurn heading toward Rajputana and Malwa.[535] Khandaurn advanced toward Ajmer. Along the way, Sawai Jaisinghji and Kota's ruler Maharao Durjanshalji, with their respective armies, joined the royal forces. With their combined armies, the imperial force appeared as a vast ocean, numbering around two hundred thousand men. The number of cannons, weapons, and ammunition-laden carts was incalculable. The marching army entered the Kota state. Maharao Durjanshalji remained in his capital and sent his army to join the royal forces. The army crossed the Mukandara Valley and reached Rampura.

Here, the Khandauran learned that Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia, with their armies, were nearby. The royal army was so large that the Khandauras could not control it, nor could they keep the various divisions in check. The Marathas, with their fast and light cavalry, were a formidable force, and the royal army was not equipped to deal with them. Moreover, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia were skilled commanders who had thoroughly studied the weaknesses of both the Mughals and the Rajputs. They were not intimidated

[535] S. P. D., Vol. 14, Letters 21 and 22

by the size of the royal army, but rather encouraged by it. The Marathas surrounded Khandaur's army for eight days. The Khandauras were unable to move, and supplies and fodder stopped coming. Many horses and camels were looted by the Marathas. To save the royal army from this severe crisis, Maharao Durjanshalji set out with some of his troops, but Malhar Rao Holkar and Jaswant Rao Puwar stopped him before he could reach the royal forces. They confronted him on the way, defeated him, and he had to retreat.[536]

Looting by the Marathas in Rajputana — Having harassed the Khandauran, the Marathas then left them near Bhopal and entered Hadoti. They subsequently entered the states of Jaipur and Jodhpur. At that time, Sawai Jaisinghji and Maharaja Abhaysinghji were with the royal army, so there was no one left to defend the states. The Marathas looted both states extensively before heading into Sambhar, which was directly under Mughal control, and the commander there was named Fakhru.

The Marathas first targeted Fakhru. They looted almost three lakh rupees worth of his property, along with many horses and four elephants, and left him in only his langoti (lower wrap). The Qazi of Sambhar fought back fiercely. Like the Hindus, his women performed jauher (self-immolation), and he fought valiantly, but after receiving several wounds, he collapsed. Meanwhile, the royal army's troubles continued to grow, and finally, at Jaisingh's urging, the Khandauras agreed to pay twenty-two lakh rupees as 'chouth' (a form of tribute or tax) to the Marathas to free themselves. While the treaty talks were happening, the Khandauran were staying in Kota, and the Marathas were in Bundi.[537]

The Final Glimpse — The royal army's march in Rajputana in Samvat 1791 was the last glimpse of Mughal grandeur. The Rajput rulers who joined this campaign were

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[536] Irvine : Later Mughals, Vol. 2, p. 304.

[537] (i) Siyar-ul-Mutakhireen, Vol. 2, Page 83.
(ii). S. P. D., Vol. 14, Letters No. 21 and 23.

also a part of the last scene. The retreat of the Khandauran (forces of a region)after accepting defeat and paying the 'chouth' was a glaring sign that Mughal power had come to an end. Although Muhammad Shah still sat on the throne in Delhi, giving robes of honor, rewards, and issuing decrees, in reality, his power and wealth had dwindled. After Samvat 1791, the Rajputs no longer cared about Muhammad Shah. Any remaining respect they had for the Mughal emperor was destroyed by the Khandauras' defeat and treaty. After this event, Kota state had no further ties with the Mughals. Shortly after, Muhammad Shah himself allowed Baji Rao Peshwa to collect 'chouth' from all Rajput states south of Chambal, meaning from Kota to Madhawar, and establish Maratha dominance over them.

* **Foot Note 2- <u>Appendix No. 1, Archaeology of Kota State</u>**

Inscriptions on Bal Maukhari's Yups-

A - Balvardhan's Yup

Siddham krtehi 295 Phalguna shuklasya panche di Shri Mahasenapateh Maukhare: balaputrasya balavardhanasya yupah triratrisvanasya dakshina gavo sahastro. (Having achieved success, on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, in the year 295, this is the sacrificial post (yūpa) of the illustrious great general of the Maukharis, Bālaputra, son of Bālavardhana, who performed a three-night Soma sacrifice (trirātra-svāna), whose sacrificial gift (dakṣiṇā) was a thousand cows.)

B - Somadeva's Yup

Siddham kritehi 295 phalguna shuklasya panche di sri mahasenapateh mokhareh balaputrasya somadevasya yupah triratrisavanasya dakshina gavo sahastro | It is accomplished (Siddham). On the fifth day of the bright fortnight (Shukla Paksha) of the month of Phalguna, in the year 295, this sacrificial post (Yūpa) was erected by the illustrious Mahāsenāpati (great general) of the Maukharis, Somadeva, the son of Bala, as a commemoration of the three-night Soma sacrifice . The sacrificial gift (Dakṣiṇā) for the ritual was one thousand cow

C. Balsingh's Yup

Siddham krtehi 295 Phalguna shuklasya panche di Shri Mahasenapateh Maukhare: balaputrasya Bālasiṃhasya Somadevasya yupah triratrisanasya dakshina gavo sahastro.

On the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna in the year 295 (Siddham Kritehi 295), this sacrificial post (yūpa) was erected by the great general Bālasiṃha, son of Balaputra of the Maukharī lineage. It marks the performance of a three-

night Soma sacrifice (trirātri savana), for which the sacrificial gift (dakṣiṇā) was one thousand cows

* **Foot Note 3 : <u>Appendix No. 2 Archaeology of Kota State</u> –**

Inscription on the Door of the Temple of Charchauma:

<u>This inscription is on the outer door of the Shiva Temple at Charchauma</u>**.**

Kalinīkapi malayasamāḥ śatapuṣpāpādikāḥ sutanu kāryā.
Kaṭu hiṅgu sito dhūpo devepu api durlabho bakulaḥ || 1||
Jalanāga prīyaṅgūnāṁ cāgā bādhira sādhikaḥ.
Pratyago tula gandho'yaṁ varaṇāḍhayo jala dātyaye || 2||

1- The Kalini (a fragrant flower) resembles the Malaya region in its fragrance and is used in various religious rituals.

Its bitter fragrance is often found in the incense offerings made to the gods, though it is rare to find in temples.

2-The water snake's preferred flower, the priyangu, is beneficial for those in need.Its fragrance, though quite unique, is often used for sacrificial rituals, symbolizing purity and devotion, especially in offerings of water.)

<u>Inscription Inside the Temple:</u>

1**Muktā'.....**"**Mayīṁ bhavapratikṛitiliṅgaṁ jagatyadbhutaṁ** ("The pearl, which is a miraculous symbol of the universe, bestows the world with divine wonders.")

2 **Prāsādaṁ .....'Sayadāyaśilaṁ prāpyandhā.....**...("The palace, by acquiring the stone of generosity, is deserving of eternal fame.")

3 **Dhattē.....'Guṇānvintāṁcha vasudhāṁ.....** ("She holds the earth, endowed with virtues, and supports all beings.")

4 **Prabhāvāt sarvasya kṛita durita vṛitteḥ bhamavatā (**Due to the power of all, she erases the evil deeds of those who wander in delusion.")

5 **Namaḥ svānyasthīni marutvate praṇathine prīto dadhīcho.** ("Salutations to those who have taken the sacred vows, bringing joy to the devoted.")

6 **Gādheyāḥ sa.....**("The Gādheya (sages) utter mantras and carry forward the divine teachings.")

7 **..... Kartudvijāteḥ priyaṁ, dātuḥ prārthayitushcha sāramahati tulyet dānaṁ**.("For the one who is engaged in sacred actions, offering the supreme gift is equal to receiving the divine rewards.")

8 **.....Arthayate dhanaṁ laghumānāḥ tasyāmyadātā purā**.("Those with humble hearts ask for wealth, for the giver’s generosity creates the endless cycle of abundance.")

✻ Foot Note 4- <u>Appendix No. 3 Archaeology of Kota State-</u>

Inscription of the Nagavanshi king in Koshavardhan_

1.oṃ namo ratnatrayāya ||
jayanti vādāḥ sugatasya nirmalāḥ
samasta-sandeha-nirāsa-bhāsurāḥ |

kutarka-sampāta-nipātahetavo
yugāntavātā iv viśvasantateḥ

2.yo rūpavānapi vibharti sadaiva rūpamekopyaneka iv
bhātichayo nikāmam |
ārādagātparadhiyaḥ pratimartya-vedyo
yo nirjitāri rajitaśra jinaḥ savochyāt ||

3 bhinatti yo nṛṇāṃmohaṃ tamo veśmani dīpavat |
sovyādvaḥ saugato dharmo bhaktamuktiphala pradaḥ

4 āryasaṅghasya vimalāḥ śaracchasi (shi)-jitaśriyaḥ |
jayanti jayinaḥ pādāḥ surāsura-śirocitāḥ ||

5 āsīdambhodhidhīraḥ śaśidhavalayaśā vindunāgaabhidhānaḥ
tatsūnuḥ padmanāgobhavadasamaguṇaiḥrbhūṣitāśeṣavaṃśaḥ |
tasyā pyānandakārī karanikara ivānuṣṇaraśmestanūjo
jātaḥ sāmanatacakraprakaṭataraguṇaḥ sarvaṇāgo jitāriḥ ||

6 tasyābhūddayitā viśuddhayashasaḥ śrīrityuraḥ śāyini
kṛṣṇasyaiva mahodaya ca śaśino jyotsneva viśvambharā |
gaurīvādviddśośamā śamavataḥ pragyeva vātāyino
gambhīrā yadi vā mahormivalayā veleva velābhṛtaḥ ||

7 tābhyām abhūdguṇāmbhodhirvśīkṛtamanomalaḥ |
devadatta iti khyātaḥ sāmaṇṭaḥ kṛtinaṃ kṛtī ||
yeṣānnatirjinagurau gurutā guṇeṣu
saṅgo'rthibhiḥ satatadānanibadhagadhaiḥ |
bhītiḥ prakāmamaghato jagadekaśatroḥteṣāmayaṃ
kṛtaviśeṣaguṇonvavāye ||
8. yeṣāṃ bhūtiriyaṃ pareti na parai rālokyate'rthārthibhiḥ
yeṣāmmudvibhavaḥ paraḥ paramudaḥ svapne'pi nābhūtanau |
yeṣāmātmahitodayāya dayitaṃ nāsīdguṇāsādanaṃ
teṣāmeva vaśī śaśāṅkadhavale (lo) jātaḥ kulāmbhonidhau ||

9. sampāditajanānandaḥ samāsāditasantatiḥ |
kalpa-śākhīva jagatāmeṣa bhūdo guṇākaraḥ ||

10. viśvāśvāsavidhau tṛṇīkṛtasitajyotsnādayo dehinā-
mantaḥ śuddhivicāraṇe suragurorashyahitālpodayaḥ |
gāmbhīryākalane nikāma kalitaḥ kṣīrodasāraḥsvayam
yattanūnamaho guṇā guṇitanuvyāsaṅginah saṅgatāḥ ||

11. tāvanmānadhanā yaśastatibhṛtastāvacca tāvadbudhāḥ
stāvattāyisutānukārakaraṇāstāvatkṛpāmbhodhayaḥ |
tāvannayasta paropakāra tanavastāvatkṛtajñāḥ pare
yāvannāsya guṇekṣaṇe kṣaṇamapi prāptāvaadhāno janaḥ ||

12. yasyodvīkṣya guṇānaśeṣaguṇināmadyāpyava(jñā) tmani
nirvāṇā khila māna santatipataśceto vikāsā samā |
bhānau dhvasta-samasta naiśhatamasi svairaṃ karālīkṛti
prātaryena kalāvalopi vigalacchāyaḥ śaśāṅko na kim ||

13. yasyānvaye'pyaguṇajanma nadṛṣṭapūrvamāsāditā na ca
guṇairgaṇanavyavasthā
yātā muhurttamapi no kalidoṣaleśāḥ so'yannirastasamato bhuvi
kopyapūrvah

14. yasya dānamatirakṣatadānā bhāṣitānyaphalavanti na santi
prāṇadānavihitāvadhi sakhyaṃ tasya ko guṇanidherihatulyaḥ

15. nānā santi dināni santi vividhāścandraāṃśuśītā niśā-
santyanyāḥ śataśobālā jitajagannārīsamastaśriyaḥ
tannānandi jagattraye'pi sudinaṃ sāva niśā sāvalā
yajjānmanyagamannimitta padavīṃasyā parairdurgamām

16. kośavṛddhanagireranupūrvaṃ soyamunimaṣitadhīḥ
sugatasya
vyastamāranikaraikagarimṇo mandiraṃ sma viddhāti
yathārtham

17 sukhānyasvantanī prakṛticapalaṃ [jī] vitamidaṃ
priyāḥ prāṇaprakhyāstaḍidudayakalpāśca vibhavāḥ
priyodarkāścālaṃ kṣaṇasukhakṛtau duḥkha-bahulā
vihārastenāyaṃ bhavavibhavabhītena racitaḥ

18 sāndradhvānaśara (dvā) lāka nivahatyaktaārka bimbodjjvalam
saṃsārāṅkura saṅgabhaṅga caturam yatpuṇyamattaṃmayā |
jaināvāsavidheratoyamakhilo lokatrayānandani
tenāraṃ sugataśriyaṃ jitajagadō (ṣāṃ) janaḥ prāpnuyāt

19. praśastimenāmarojājātaḥ śākyakulodadhau
jajjakaḥ kiyadarthaāṃśa nivēśa vihitasthitim
Samvat sharaank (samvatsaraank) 7 maagh sudee 6!
Utkeernaa chanakena ||

* **Foot Note 5 - <u>Appendix No. 4 Archaeology of Kota State.</u>**

  Inscriptions of the Panwar Raja at Shergarh

1 Om Swasti [|] J[ayobhyudayashcha | Jayati] Vyomakeshosau [Yah Sargaaya Bibharti Taam | Ai] ndaveem Si (Shi) Rasa Lekhaam Jaga

2 [Dvi]jankushakritim [| 1 ||] Tanvatu (ntu) Vah Smararaateh Kalyanam- anisham Jataah | Kalpaansatamayoddaama [Tadi]

3 Dvalaryāpiṅgalāḥ [2 ||] Paramabhattāraka - Mahārājādhirājaparmeśvara
Śrīvākpatirāja Devapā [dānu]-"

4 "DhyātaparamabhattārakaMahārājādhirājaparmeśvaraŚrī Sindhurājadevapa [dānudhyātapara”

5 MabhattārakaMahārājādhirājaparmeśvaraŚrīBhoja Devapādānudhyātapara [mabhattārakam]-"

6 HārājādhirājaparmeśvaraŚrīUdadyādityadevaḥ [:] Kuśalī □ CaccuRoṇīmaṇḍa[lāntapāti…11]"
7 Radraḥadvādaśake Śrīkośavarddhana Dugrgīyaśrī Somanātha Deva [bhu]kteranu..... 8 Vilāpradrakaprāme Samupagatān Samastarājapuruṣān vā (Brā) hmaṇottarān) Prati [Nivāsipaṭṭakilaja]"

8 Napadādīṁśca vo (bo) dhayatyastu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ Yathā Karpāsikāprāmā-vasthitairasmā[bhidhi]-"

9 "Kaśataikādaśakasaṁvatsare Chaitrasudi (śuddha) Chaturdaśyāṁ Damanakaparvvaṇi Snātvā Charācharagu ruṁ Bhagavantaṁ Bh-"

10 "Vāṇīpati samabhyarcya samsārasyāsāratāṁ dṛṣṭvā. Tathāhi [1] Vātābhravibhramamidaṁ vasudhādhipa (tyamāpāta)-"

11 Mātrāmadhuro viṣayopabhogaḥ. Prāṇāstṛṇāmrajalavi(bi)ndusamā narāṇāṁ dharmaḥ sakhā param[ho para

II

12 Lokayāne. [| 3 |] Bhramatsansāracakrāpradhārādhārāmimāṁ śriyaṁ (yam). Prāpya ye na dadustesāṁ pañcāttāpaḥ paraṁ phalaṁ (lam). [| 4 |]"

13 Iti jagato vinashvaram swarupamākalayyādrishṭphalam angīkṛtya chandrakāravakṣitisamākālaṁ yā-"

14 "Vatparayā bhaktyā śrīkośabaddha nadugṛgīya śrī somanāthadevāyaivoparilikhitaprāmaḥ sa (sva) sīmāṭṛraṇayū"

15 Tigocharaparyantaḥ savṛkṣamālākulaḥ sahiraṇyabhāgabho goparikarasarvvādāyasametaśca mātṛ (tā) pitroṛātm"

16 Naśca puṇyayasho'bhivṛddhaye. Śāśaneno'dakapūrbakatayā pradatta iti. Tanmatvā tannivāsijanapadaiḥyathā [pra] -"

17 Dīyamānabhāgabhogakara hiraṇyādikaṃ devavrā (brā) hmaṇabhuktivarjjamājñāśravaṇavidhēyairbhūtvāsarvama-muṣmai."

18 Samupanetavyaṃ. Sāmānyaṃ caitapuṇyaphalaṃ buddhvā asmadvaṃśajaiḥ ranye (nye) rapi bhāvibhokṛtbhirasmadpradattadharmmā
19 Dāyo'ymanumantavyaḥ pālanīyaśca □ uktaṃ ca [1] va (b)ahubhirvvasudhā bhuktārājabhiḥ sagarādibhiḥ □ yasya ya-"

20 sya yadā bhūmistasya tasya tadā phalaṃ (lam) □ [□ □] yānīha dattāni purā narendraiḥdānāni dharmmārthayaśaskaraāṇi □ ni-"

21 mālyavāntipratimāni tāni ko nāma sādhūḥ punarādadīta □ [□ □] asmatkulakramamudāramudāharadbhiranya (nye)"

22 śra dānamidambhyanumodanīyaṁ (yam). lakṣmyāstadvilayavudvu (budbu)-dacaṁcalāyā dānaṁ phalaṁ parayaśahparipāla-"

23 naṁ ca. [7] sarvānetān bhāvinaḥ pārthirvedrān bhūyo bhūyo yācate rāma-bhadraḥ. sāman'yo'yaṁ dharmasetun -"

Second Inscription

1 oṁ □ saṁvat 1074 vaisā (śā)khasudi 3 akṣayatṛtīyāṁ maṇḍapikā- dāyā [t] stre (śreṣṭhinarasiṅhagovṛṣathīrā"

2 dityai bhattārakśrīnaghnakasya pādābhyangāya dinaṁ prati ghṛtakarṣame [kaṁ] 1 pradattaṁ □ Ashcandrārke yāvat."

3 saṁvat 1075 vaisā (śā) khasudi 3 śrīsomnāthadevāya candanadhūpanimittaṁ māgrādāye kauptika"

4 varaṅgena (ṇa) māgdāyāt (d) datta vṛṣabha 5 ācandrāke yāvat □ cha □ saṁvat 1084 māghasudi 13"

5 śrīsoṃnanāthadevasya dīpatailanimittaṃ ṭhakkura devakhāminā tailikarājathā-iyākaghāṇa (gau)"

6 dvau pradattau Anchandrārka yāvat □ tathā pannasālayaṃ dhūpanimittaṃ kapardakavoḍī (ḍrī) 1 dinaṃ pra-"

7 ti dātavyā ācandrārke yāvat □ tathā māsavārake saṅkrāntau varāha (hau) dvau pradattau ācandrārke"
8 yāvat. [1] yasya yasya yadā bhūmistasya tasya tadā phalamiti.śrīsomnāthadevasya vaṇi-"

9 indāmahindakā (bhyāṁ) saktā vāśanikā pradattā □ tailikathāiyākena saktā vāśanikā pra-"

10 dattā □ [|] tathā vaṇi[k] soḍhākena saktā vāśanikā pradattā □ tathā vaṇik (k) sāyyākena s:

11 kvā vāśanikā pradattā □ tathā vaṇik (k) śrīhārajasomābhyaṁ svakīyā (yau) vāśanikau dvau 2 pra-:

12 dattau □ tathā vaṇik (g) mahallakena satkā vāśanikā pradattā □ tathā san (śa) khikalaśīṁdhareṇa

13 satkā vāśanikā pradattā | śrīsomnāthadevapallikā pūrvvataḥ devamar[yādā] | paścimataḥ

14 ṭh]kurakuḍak[sy] vāśanikā maryādā | uttaraṭaḥ mārgamā (m)aryādā | dakṣiṇataḥ nadī maryā"[ṭh]

15 Dā | caturāghāṭasādhitā śrīsomānāthadevapaḷlikā || cha || maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ

✻(Foot Note 6) <u>Appendix No. 5(a)</u> Archaeology of Kota

Inscription of Borkhedi Darwaza (gate) of Fort Shergarh-Saṁvat 1867 Mahārāvjī Śrī Umedasiṁhjī faujdār māmājī rāj Śrī Jālamasiṁhjī Barasānā kā pradhān Pacolī Goradhanjī kā mārfat... koṭ..." (In the year 1867 of the Vikram Samvat calendar, under the rule of Maharaja Shri Umedsinghji, with the commander-in-chief ,Raja Shri Zalim Singhji of Barasana as the head, through the agency of Pacholi Goradhanji... fort...")

✲(Foot Note 7) Appendix No. 5 (b) Archaeology of Kota

Inscription on a Pillar Inside Bhand Devara,

Ramgarh::"Samvat 1219 ... Trishasavarma ... Medavamshīya ... Maharaja Shrimat Singh'sya.

✲(Foot Note 8) Appendix No. 5(c) Archaeology of Kota

Bhand Devara - A partial inscription from Ramgarh, which is kept in the engineering office. Dated to the 10th century
Śrīmalayadevavarmaṇaḥ... Vijayollāsa... vinamrasya sahasrāvadhiparāstaparasya... bhaktikīrtimūrtiḥ....

✲(Foot Note 10) - Appendix 6 Origin of Chauhanas

kākutstham ikṣvāku raghu ca
yaddadhatpurāabhavatripravaraṁ raghoḥ kulam |
kalāvapi prāpya sa-cāha mānatāṁ prarūḍha-turya-pravaraṁ babhūvatat ||
... bhānoḥ pratāponnatiṁ |
tanvangotra guronijena nṛipaterjajñe suto janmanā ||
sutopya para-gāṇḍenayo ninyeysya ravi-sūnunā |
unnati ravi-vaṁśasya pṛthvīrājena paśyatā ||2

Verse- 1
The lineage of Raghus (Raghuvaṁśa), bearing the glory of Kakutstha, Ikṣvāku, and Raghu,
Which once achieved supreme eminence, retained its honor even in the Kali Yuga,
Rising again with the excellence of its rulers and extending its prestige.
Verse 2 (continuation):
Spreading the splendor of the Sun (Sūrya), the descendant of the venerable lineage (Gotra Guru) was born as a king (noble by birth).
This son, through his achievements, brought fame to his lineage.
Indeed, it was Pṛthvīrāja who, by his actions, upheld and elevated the glory of the Solar Dynasty (Ravi-vaṁśa). – 'Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya Mahākāvya'

⋆ (Foot Note 11) Appendix 6 Origin of Chauhanas

Papāta yatpuṣkaramatrapāṇeḥ khyātaṁ tataḥ
Puṣkaratīrthametat Yaccāpa māgādatha Chāhamānaḥ
pumāna- to'khyāpi sa Chāhamānaḥ
Tataśhraturvaktrabhavatprasādāt
sāmrajyamāsādya sa Chāhamānaḥ Cakre'arkavadbhūbhṛt
āśupādā krāntān
gurunyayamasya vaptā

(After the great event at Pushkara, which is renowned for its sacred significance, it became known as Pushkaratīrtha. At that moment, the mighty Chāhamāna, who was called by the name of Chāhamāna, advanced.By the grace of the four-faced Lord Brahmā, he achieved the kingdom and attained imperial rule.Like the Sun, who rules over the earth, he swiftly vanquished his enemies, and his fame spread far and wide.) Humbhir epic, first canto verse 17, 18.

✤(Foot Note 12) Appendix 7 Origin of Chauhanas

Tab surişya vāciṣṭa | Kuṇḍa rochan rachi tāmaha |
Dhariya dhyān jani hom | Madhya vedī sur māmaha ||
Tab pragaṭyā pratihār | Rāj tin ṭhoṛ sudhāriya |
Puni pragaṭyo cālukk | Brahmācārī vrata dhāriya ||
Pāvāṁr pragaṭyo vīravar | Kahyo riṣhṇa parmār dhan |
Chay puruṣh juhn kīno atul | Maha raṣhyaas pundant tan ||
Chh. II 250 || Ru|| 127||

(Then, the most divine words were spoken. The beauty of the moon was created by Him.He who holds the ritual with devotion, in the center of the altar, invokes the deity with devotion.Then, the gatekeepers appeared. The king improved three places.

Again, the chaste Brahmachari appeared, observing vows.The great warrior appeared, telling of the infinite treasure of righteous strength. He, a man of great virtue, performed the unmatchable sacrifice, A great sage with a pure and radiant body.

Tab chintiya vāciṣṭa |
Eh āsur avicāriya |
Jagya jīh ucciṣṭ kareṁ kātar kṛit hāriya ||
suran aṁsa saṁrihe |
Havai nah havā huā vah |
So upāv saṁch iyai |
Jo yāhi sanvarai asur sah ||
Trimyo su sūr saṁgrām bhar |
Ari alaṅghaṣaṇḍan su bal |
Sam dharihi jagya kāraṇ sakal |
Vimal siṣṭa sobhāi savaḷ ||
Ch. II 253 II 0 II 130

(Then, after contemplating, the sage spoke:
'This demon (asura) is without thought;
The sacrifices made by the tongue, tainted with impurity, hinder the truth.'
The sacrifice involves the gods' participation,
Neither air nor wind can affect it.
The one who performs the ritual will gather his strength,
And he who aligns with the divine will defeat the demons.
In the three-fold conflict, the gods fought valiantly,
The enemy was subdued by the powerful blow of the divine strength.
The ritual, as the cause of everything, was upheld in full,
The righteous ones shone with pure grace and splendor)

"Anala kund kiya anala | Sajji upgar saar sur ||
Kamalsan aasanh | Mandi jagyopavit juri ||
Chaturanan stuti sah | Mantra uchhaar saar kiya ||
Sukari kamandal waari | Jujit aahwan than diy ||
Ja janni paani shrav ahuti jaji | Bhaji su dusht aahwan kari ||
Uppajyau anala chahuhaan tab | Chav subahu asi naah dhari ||"Cha □ 255 □ Rs. □ 133 □

The fire pit (kund) was made fiery (anala),The Suras (gods) offered their essential support in preparation. The lotus throne (Kamalsana) was set up,The sacrificial area (mandi) and sacred thread (jagyopavit) were duly arranged. The four-

faced one (Brahma) offered praises,Mantras were chanted and their essence was realized. The sacred pitcher (Kamandal) filled with water,The invocation place (aahwan) was established, and the ritual was set.As the water poured in the fire, the offerings were made,The devotee performed the rituals to ward off evil forces. The fire rose in all directions,It was so powerful that it blazed like a thousand strong arms (symbolizing immense power).

Prithviraj Raso, Adi Parva, pages 46 to 51

* **(Foot Note 13) <u>Appendix 8</u> Origin of Chauhanas**

Prārthitatena tato dhātrā mṛtyu muddiśya daityayoḥ॥
Udpādi jvaladvahneḥ kuṇḍātkṣatra catuṣṭayam॥34॥
Pratihāra iti khyāto nāmnā saumyāntarindriyaḥ॥35॥
... ... dvitīya kṣatriyottama thā॥

((1) At the behest of the Creator, to bring about the death of the demons,
From the blazing fire pit arose four warrior clans. ॥34॥

The first was known as Pratihara,
Renowned for his calm demeanor and controlled senses. ॥35॥

... ... The second was a supreme Kshatriya (warrior))

(ii) Cālukyaśchaaluko nāmnā chulukyaścaulukastathā ॥ 43॥
Pramāraḥ paramāro'yaṁ prāmāraś samākhyayā॥
Vaśiṣṭha garītra sampanno yajurvedo raṇotsukaḥ ॥49॥
Tato'ti krūrayāhutyā havyaṁ prakṣipya pāvake॥
Udapādi tanvaturtho'yaṁ vīraḥ kruddhamanāvali ॥53॥
Chahvāṇaś vāṇo'so chuhāṇaś chaturbhujaḥ॥
Chauhāṇachārapi chaṇḍāsiḥ proktaḥ sarvairabhikhyayā ॥57॥

The clan of Paramara is recognized by this name,
Pramara or Pramara, as it is commonly called.
Endowed with the legacy of Vashishta,
He was a devotee of Yajurveda and eager for battle. ॥49॥

Then, with a fierce offering,
The sacred oblation was cast into the fire.
From this arose the fourth warrior,
A hero with an angry demeanor. ॥53॥Known as Chahvana or

Vana,
Also called Chuhana and the four-armed one.
Renowned as Chauhan, fierce and powerful,
Praised universally under these titles. 57) - Vanshabhaskar, Pages 91 to94

* **(Foot Note 14) <u>Appendix 9</u> Origin of Chauhanas**

Ravi Sasi ustādava vaṁśa | Kakustha Paramāra Sadāvara ||
Cāhuwāna Chalukk | Chanda Silāra Ābhīyara ||
Doya Matta Makavāna | Garua Gohila Gohila Puta ||
Chāpottkata Parihāra | Rāva Rāṭhaura Rosa Suta ||
Devarā Ṭāṅka Saindhava Aniga | Yotika Pratihāra Dadhiṣaṭa ||
Kāradvapāla Koṭapāla Hula | Hari Ṭaṭa Gora Kamāṣa Maṭa ||
Chh. II 277 || Ru. || 135 ||Pṛthvīrāja Rāso, Pṛiṣṭha 54 Ādi Parva.

(The lineage (vaṁśa) of the Sun (Ravi) and Moon (Sasi) is celebrated.
It includes the noble Kakustha, the Paramaras, and the eternal Chahuwans.
Also mentioned are the Chalukyas (Lukk), Chanda, Silara, and the brave Abhiras.
The mighty Matta, Makavāna, and the respected Gohilas, sons of Gohila.The Chāpottkata, Parihāras, Rāvas, and Rāṭhauras follow, along with the progeny of Rosa.
Then come the Devarās, Ṭāṅkas, Saindhavas, and the fearless Anigas.
The Yotikas, Pratihāras, and Dadhiṣaṭas are also counted in the line.
Among them are the Kāradvapālas, Koṭapālas, Hulas, and Hari Ṭaṭas, along with the Goras and Kamāṣa Maṭas)- Pṛthvīrāja Rāso, Page 54 Ādi Parva

Shri Vinayakrai Chintamani Vaidya has given a detailed analysis of the above verse and has competently proved that Ravi, Shashi and Jadav should not be included in the count of thirty-six dynasties. These three words are indicative of the origin of all Kshatriyas.-C.B. Vaidya - History of Medieval

Hindu India, Volume 2 pages 22 to 26.Raso editors Mohanlal Vishwalal Pandya, Radhakrishna Das and Babu Shyamsundar Das have counted Ravi Shashi and Jadav only among thirty-six lineages, which is not authentic in the opinion of the author. - Prithviraj Raso Page 14 Aadhiparva.

✻**Foot Note 15** Appendix 10 **Origin of Chauhanas**

Anal anv vāpahiṁ kite, varanat saur bakhāni

Tej tattva ekatva kari, nahiṁ virodh taĨ jāni

***Vaṁśabhāskara* Pratham Bhāg, Pṛṣṭha** 87 (Fire, water, and air are described as originating from the Sun.
These elements embody the same essence of energy, and hence, no contradiction should be perceived in this.
Vansh Bhaskar, First Part, Page 87.)

✻(Foot Note 16) Appendix 10 Origin of Chauhanas

Dūṣayiṣyanti yavanāḥ, sahasrābde gate kalau

Tadā rakṣāṁ kariṣyanti, yājñikā kṣatriyarṣabhāḥ

***Kālindikā Prakāś, Pṛthvīrāj Rāso* Ādi Parva, Pṛṣṭha 51 par uddhṛta**(The Yavanas (foreign invaders) will desecrate the land when a thousand years of Kali Yuga have passed.
At that time, the sacrificial Kshatriyas, the bull-like protectors of Dharma, will ensure the defense.
Kalindika Prakash, *Prithviraj Raso* Adi Parva, quoted on page 51.)

✻(Foot Note 17) Appendix 10 Origin of Chauhanas

Papāta yatpuṣkara matrapāṇeḥ, khyātaṁ tataḥ Puṣkaratīrthametat

Yaccāyamāgadata Chāhamānaḥ, pumānato'khyāyi sachāhamānaḥ*Shrī Hammīr Mahākāvya*, Pratham Sarga, 17 Śloka

*(*When Lord Brahma performed penance, the sacred land of Pushkar was created.
The lineage of Chāhamāna (Chauhan) is traced back to this divine event, and its founder was named Chāhamāna.-- *Shri Hammir Mahakavya*, First Canto, Verse 17.)

✻(Foot Note 18) Appendix 10 Origin of Chauhanas

Bānā rabhaṁti Bārānasiy, Ābū Arbud Udariy
***Pṛthvīrāj Rāso*, Ādi Parva, Pṛṣṭha 46**(The warriors fought valiantly at Benares, on the hills of Mount Abu and Arbud.
Prithviraj Raso, Adi Parva, Page 46.)

✻(Foot Note 27) Appendix 11 Origin of Chauhanas
Abhūdyasyāmevat-tasyām tanayaḥ śrīmadaḷlaṭaḥ
Sa bhūpatiḥ [priyā] yasya hūṇa kṣoṇīśa vaṁśajāḥ
Hariyadevī yasho yasyā bhātiharṣapurāhvayam
***Iṁ. Aiṁ. Ji. 39*, Pṛṣṭha 191**
(From that lineage was born a noble son named Śrīmadaḷlaṭa.
He was a king whose [beloved] descendants were from the lineage of the Hūṇa rulers.
The glory of Hariyadevī radiates, associated with the city known as Harṣapura.
Indian Antiquary, Volume 39, Page 191.)

✻(Foot Note 28) Appendix 11 Origin of Chauhanas
putro'sya khaḍga dali [tāri] karīndra kumbha muktāphalaiḥ sma kakubhorccati karṇa devaḥ... ... ... ||ajani kala churīṇāṃ svāminā tena hūṇānvayajalanidhilakṣyāṃ śrīmadā- valladevyaṃ.
ī° aiṃ° ji° 2 pṛṣṭa 4
His son, with the sword’s edge, crushed the great elephants' tusks, and adorned his ears with the pearls of the ocean. The ruler of the land, born from the lineage of the Huns, created a prosperous kingdom by serving the goddess Valladevi.
(Reference: "E. A volume 2 page 4)

✻(Foot Note 29) Appendix 11 Origin of Chauhanas
Sthāṇōranyatra yēna praṇati kripaṇatāṁ prāpitaṁ nōttayamāṅgam |
Yasyāśliṣṭō bhujābhyāṁ vahati himagiridurgashabdābhidhānam |
Nīchaistenāpi yasya, paṇati |
bhujabalāvarjanakliṣṭamūrdhnā |
Chūdāpuṣpōpahāraimihirakulanṛpēṇārchitaṁ pāda

yuggaṁ |
Phlī. Gu. E. Ī. Pṛṣṭa 146-47(1) The one who, by the grace of another, falls into a state of despair, and through whose embrace, the shoulders bear the sound of the snowy mountains' fortresses.
Even by the lowly, who bow before him,
he bears the weight of struggles, his head burdened.
The foot, worshipped by the king of the solar dynasty,
who offers gifts like the flowers of the Cūḍā tree, adorned by the sacred offering.
(Reference: "Phlī. Gu. E." page 146-47)

✤(Foot Note 39) Appendix 12 Origin of Chauhanas

Mahānanda sutaśraāpi śūdrāyāṁ kalikāṁśajaḥ |
Utpasyeta Mahāpadmaḥ sarva kṣatrāntako nṛpaḥ ||
Tataḥ prabhṛti rājāno bhaviṣyāḥ śūdra yonayaḥ ||

Matsya Purana Chapter 272 Verse 17-22. Vayu Purana Chapter 99 Verse 326-31. Brahmanda Purana 3-74-139-43.

(The son of Mahānanda, born of a Shūdra woman and a fragment of Kali (the age of strife),will be born as Mahāpadma, the destroyer of all Kshatriyas.
From then onwards, kings will belong to the Shūdra lineage)

Mahānandisutaḥ śūdrāgarbhodbhavo'ti lubdho—
Mahāpadmo nandaḥ Paraśurāma ivāparo'khila kṣatrāntakārī bhavitā
Tataḥ prabhṛti śūdrā bhūmipālā bhaviṣyanti ||

Vishnu Purana, Part 4 Chapter 24. Similarly, Sri Madbhagavatam, Volume 12, Chapter 1, Verse 8-13.

(The son of Mahānandi, born from the womb of a Shūdra woman and exceedingly greedy,will be Mahāpadma Nanda, like another Paraśurāma, the destroyer of all Kshatriyas.From then onward, rulers will arise from the Shūdra lineage.

✤(Foot Note 43). Appendix 12 Origin of Chauhanas

Kusambānaṁ khatiyaṁ cha sahā ya vatā shatam masika nagaraṁ The city of Masika (was ruled by or belonged to) the Kshatriyas of Kusambā, together with allies

Kashiprasad Jaiswal J.B. O. Research Society Volume 3 December 1917 page 425-85.

✤(Foot Note 60) Appendix 12 Origin of Chauhanas

Lokairyotimahītale nanu Harishchandro'pomogīyate Haimmāropitaṁ yena Śivasya bhuvanopari Tomaranāyakaṁ salavaṇaṁ sainyādhipatyoddhatam Yuddhe yena nareshwarāḥ pratidiśaṁ nirnā (ṇā) śitājishṇunā Harsha inscription A.I. Volume 2, page 121. (By the people, it is indeed said that Harishchandra is unparalleled,
Who had gold plated the top of Lord Shiva's abode in the heavens.
The leader of the Tomars, an exalted one,
In battle, kings, victorious in every direction, were defeated by his sharp sword.)

✤(Foot Note 66) Appendix 13 Origin of Chauhanas

Aavindhyaadaahimaadreh virachitavijayashteerthyaatraaprasaṅgaat | Ugree dvheshu prahartaa nripatishu vinamatkandhreshu prasannah | Aaryavartta yathaartham punarapi kṛtavaan mlecchavichchedanaabhih | Deva shaakambhareendro jagati vijayate veesalo kshonipaalah | Bruute samprati chaahamaanatilako shaakambareebhoopatih Shreemadvigrahaaraj esh vijayee santaanajaanaatmajaan | Asmaabhih karadam vyadhaayi himavadvindhyantraalaam bhuvah | Shesh sweekaranaya maasthu bhavataamudyogashoonyam manah

E.A.G.19 page 218.(During the pilgrimage to the victory monument established in the region of Vindhya and Himalayas,
The king, with a hatred towards enemies, humbly bowed his head and appeared content,
Having re-established Aryavarta to its true form by eliminating the foreign invaders,
Lord Shakambhariindra, the king of the world, emerged victorious, the great monarch,
He who is the crown of the Chahamana dynasty, the ruler of

Shakambhari,
The great warrior king, victorious and with descendants, family, and soul intact,
We have undertaken the task of spreading his glory across the vast land between the Himalayas and Vindhya,
May there be no empty intentions in your minds, as the work continues under your guidance.)

✤(Foot Note 78) Appendix 14 Establishment of Bundi State

Samar Singh Narnah Tabahi, Chammal Drut Uttar.
Chand Virachi Chaturang Savar Tistr Hansi Ran Sanhar.
Kiya Nirbhay Kethoni Seeswaliya Barod Sah.
Rahalavani Ramgarh Mau Sangod Dayo Mah.
Rachchak Ajey Tahan Rakkhikein Mahi Adhees Pacho Murat.
Puni Savar Rukki Chammal Pulin Aani Jure Khil Ankurit.
Pikkhi Alap Parikar Nripahin, Im Khil Bhillan Aai.
Kota Jahn Tahan Jang Kiya, Nadi Chammali Niyarai.
Bundisan Pratna Bahuri, Pahunchi Mahipati Paas.
Kiya Nirbhay Hay Beechi Kari, Navasat Bhillan Bas.
Kota Jahn Swapalli Kari, Kautik Naam Kirat.
Rahto So Bhajigo Durit, Gahan Duravat Gaat.
Sambhar Ke Bhat Teen Sat, Khand Khand Huw Khet.
Pur Bundiy Im Samrahu, Ayo Vijay Upet.

(Samar Singh Narnah, then swiftly towards the North.
Chand, who mounted the four-fold army, smilingly destroyed the battlefield.
He was fearless in his actions, a leader from Seeswalia in Barod.
He remained victorious at Ramgarh, Mau, and Sangod.
The invincible protector held his position firmly in the southern region.
Again, mounted on his horse, he brought victory, and the young plants bloomed.
The king, in his humble state, came with his warriors.
Fighting in Kota, near the river Chammal.
In Bundi, he sought refuge and reached the king's presence.
Fearless, he made efforts to create peace for the Bhills.
In Kota, after creating his destiny, he earned the title Kautik.

He lived devoutly, freeing himself from sin, heading towards salvation.
The Bhils of Sambhar, with their armies of three hundred, fought fiercely in the fields.
The old fort was filled with strength, and the victorious army arrived.)

Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 1678–79

✻(Foot Note 85) Appendix 15 Establishment of Bundi State

Pur luṭṭi hall karī arar pārī,
Chaū aṭṭ durg pravise prachārī.
Hon taṅh mahes bandhuv pahār,
Samuh huv gini dhruv maraṇ sār.
Sanhārat itke bhaṭan sūr,
Pahuchyo hi napp ḍhiṅg ḍapp pūr.
Asi jhariya bhūpati aṅs ā'ī,
Kari phalak diyasu mukkal chukā'ī.
Dūjī sir dinnī sir karāl,
Kaṭi paggh ga'ī aṅgul kapāl.
Hallū tab jujhat agg ho'ī,
Dai asi pahār kiy khaṇḍ do'ī.
Sata'ikk pare itke sipāh,
Utke mṛt sattarī raṅg rāh.
Pur imasu palhāyath pratham pā'ī,
Sat aṭṭ subhaṭ taṅh dhaṛi sahā'ī.
Vaṁśabhāskar, tṛtīy bhāg, pṛṣṭh 1727 tathā 1787.

(The town was plundered and raided,
The four forts entered with spreading influence.
There, Mahesh and his relatives were caught,
A group was annihilated, facing certain death.
Destruction rained on the soldiers,
Napp reached the heights of the hill fort.
The king's body was struck down,
With his royal insignia removed and discarded.
Another's head was severed in a bloody manner,
His neck and skull were cut off.
Hallu then fought fiercely,
And broke the mountain into pieces.
Seventy-one soldiers perished,

And seventy-seven more lost their lives.
The fort was captured first at Palhayath,
And the house was supported by seventy-eight soldiers.)
Vansbhaskar, Third Part, pages 1727 and 1787.

✤(Foot Note 110) Appendix 16 Establishment of Bundi State

Kumbh Bhagwant tabasah prati yoon kahyo.
Laggi chir niththi Chittaur appan lahyo.
Mukhya Durgesh Jaymall jo na marain,
Punihun jay maahin bahu abd sansay parain.
Tohu timi haas bahu aas dal ko tahan.
Jyohin ab aahin gadh maahin Surjan jahan.
Isht tihin api yeh durg ab angamai,
Jimi su nij hoi it amal appan jamai.(Kumbh Bhagwant then said to the emperor:
"Chittor was captured after a prolonged siege.
If the chief commander, Jaimal, had not been killed,
Victory there would have taken many more years.
Now, despite the strength and hopes of your vast army,
Here stands Surjan in the fort, unwavering.
Even if the divine wills it, this fort too can be yours,
But only by wisdom and strategy will it become part of your empire.")

Vanshbhaskar, Part III, Page 2264

✤(Foot Note 112) Appendix 16 Establishment of Bundi State
Surjan ra az sitawat wa azmat dil baliya dad ba tawassul wa sifaat-e-muqarraban wisat-e-aqdas jasta pisaran-e-khud Dooda wa Bhoj ra ba-dargah-e-mualla firistad wa een ha ba wisatat az ayan-e-bargah ba sa'adat-e-zameen bos kamyab gashta. Akbarnama, Safa 337(Surjan, overwhelmed by Akbar's power and grandeur, sought mediation and recommendations from the close courtiers of the Emperor. He sent his sons, Dooda and Bhoj, to the royal court, and through the intervention of the notable figures of

the court, they successfully achieved the honor of kissing the ground before the Emperor)Surjan's greatness and greatness, his heart is full of devotion and praise,. Akbarnama, page 337.

✤(Foot Note 122) (Foot Note 160) Appendix 16
Establishment of Bundi State

Inscription of Geparnath

Samvat 1636 ..... Āditavāra Bābājī Śrī Dāmodarpurī Geparnyāni Dharamasālā Kudāī Amal Koṭa Mahārāja Kuṁvara Śrī Bhojjī Rāja Kṛpa Badhāī.....

✤(Foot Note 147)Appendix No. 17 Establishment of Kota State

Jahangir 's decree Kanugoi

Allaho Akbar

Tughrā

Farmān-e-Āli Abul Muzaffar Jahangirshah Muhammad Nuruddin Wābadi	Muhammad Jahangir Badshah Ghazi	Yā Mordan Yā Nāṣir Amīr Taimūr Sāḥib-e-Qirān Ibn Mīrānshāh Ibn Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā Ibn Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd Ibn ʿUmar Shaykh Mīrzā Ibn Bābarshāh

uddin

i- Chūn Piyāgadās wa Parasrām wa Gangārām Qānūgoyān pargane Koṭā Sarkār Ranthambhor banjare mubārak guzashtand. Wa darbawābe khidmat qānūgoy iltimās farmān Jahāngīrī namūdand. Hukm jahāmutā gado itifā sharf istadār wa izz-e-īrād yāft. ki khidmat qānūgoy pargane mazkūr badastūr sābiq bamomā ilehim mfavaaz wa mutālaq bāshad. ki kamā yambaghī

bilwāzim amra mazkūr qayām wa iqdām namūda dar taqsīr zirāyat wa imārat wa afazūnī maʻmūdī wa ābādānī daqīqā az sharāyat daulat khwahi nā marʻī na guzārand. Wa darmiyān riaaya savīyat bar wajh-e-kamāl riʻāyat namūda sitam sharīkī jāyiz na dārand. Wa agar jāgīrdāre bagufta-e Anhā amal na numāyad. haqīqat badargāh arzadāsht numāyand. Wa chūn sāl ba ākhir rasad nuskha munakkah bar jamaʻ wa kharch Aa pargana dāsht.

ii - Ba daftar khāna-e-ʻāla karastand. Mīn bāyad ki hukkām wa ummāl wa jāgīrdārān hāl wa istaqbāl pargane mazkūr mushār ilehimrā qānūgoy aan jā dānista sukhan wa sawābadīd ḥisābī ān hārā dar umūr-e-mutallaqa aan khidmat motabar dānand. Sabīl chaudharyān wa muqaddamān wariʻāyā wa mujjāreyān pargan-e -mastūr ān ki moʻammā ilehimrā qānūgoy khud dānista ba-salāḥ wa istiswāb aan muhimāt rā ṣūrat dāda wa ḥaqooq wa shuʻūr-e eshān tawjīh takhaṣīṣ numāyand har sālā hukm wa farmān mujaddad na talaband azfarmūda takhalluf wa inḥirāf na warzand dar uhda shināsand-tahreer tārīkh.....

Basabāb dīde anhā kārkarda dar ībāb.

(Since Piyagadās, Parasram, and Gangaram, the Qanungoys of the Kota district under the Ranthambhor administration, submitted their petition for Jahangiri orders regarding their service. The royal decree granted that their service as qanungoys of the aforementioned district shall continue as previously established, along with all associated privileges and duties. It was instructed that they maintain their commitment to increasing cultivation, construction, overall prosperity, and development without negligence in adhering to the rules of the state.It was also emphasized that the rights of the subjects be fully respected, and no undue oppression or partnership in injustice should occur. If the jagirdars fail to act accordingly, their actions must be reported to the court. At the end of each year, a detailed account of revenues and expenditures for the district must be compiled and submitted to the central office.

It is required that current and future officials, jagirdars, and employees of the district fully recognize the importance of the qanungoys' service. They must also regard their words and recommendations as reliable in all related matters. Village chiefs, leaders, farmers, and tenants of the district must cooperate with the qanungoys, ensuring matters are handled efficiently and rights and privileges are allocated fairly and clearly.There is no need to seek fresh orders annually. Deviation or negligence from the stipulated directives must not occur. This directive should be regarded as binding.
The document was written on (date missing) due to the actions performed and reviewed in this regard.)

✾ (Foot Note 149) Appendix No. 18 Establishment of Kota State

Rao Madhosinghji ka tamba patra.

The copper plate of Rao Madhosinghji.Samvat 1674

Maharaji Dharaji Maharaji Shri Madhosinghji Dev Vachanath Jogi Nandanath Chela Rughnath hai. Dharti bigha 72)anke bigha behtar) gaav 1 maal mouja Binod Khurd ki, aala ghaata ka mein loo di mein dharti bigha 31) anke bigha aktees, bigha 41) sa pra: Palayeta ko sadamat di chh so sadamay paaya jayi si Maharao ji Shri Ji Rawratnai nai tamba patra kar diyo chh so tamba patra hai dekh mah bhi vahal kari dizo hukam huzoor huye maane diyo sada se darkhwas chaudari ramhat chh dharti nakti ke aasan chadai chho sadamade paaya jasi Mee: Vaishakh vud 14 Sambat 1674.

(Maharaji Dharaji and Maharaji Shri Madhosinghji issued this decree:
The land of 72 bighas (counted as 72 bighas), in village Binod Khurd, part of the upper region, and another 31 bighas (counted as 31 bighas), making a total of 41 bighas, were granted to Palayeta for settlement. It is decreed that this land is permanently bestowed.Maharaoji Shri Ji Rawratnai issued this on a copper plate. This copper plate should be honored and made effective. Orders were issued by the royal court, and compliance is expected without fail.A petition was made by

Chaudhari Ramhat regarding the land of Nakti, stating that the land shall remain free from any disputes or alterations. Compliance with this decree shall ensure its validity.)

Date: 14th day of the waning fortnight of Vaishakh, Sambat 1674

✤ (Foot Note 152) Appendix 19 Establishment of Kota State

Hari Kumar Das jim mohin rakkhen Daha,
Kaid bich kaid baba kahon main kaha?
Vyajjan duravaat bharavaat hukka banain,
Haan karon jo na, naasa tipore hanen.
Pupali sadya khaybo na avasar parahu,
Kohu atakai na tihi sarb badli karahu.
X X X
App sut Madhavhin rahan tahn akkhyo,
Paas tas aur bhat vruddh thappe prathit.
Sochi sut subhat sab karahu yako kathit.
Taat saasan sabhu adhik aadar tanai,
Baithibe taas ab khaas gaddi banai.
Sayan pallayank chhurakarm bhukhan basan,
Samay anusaar hrai sadya abhimat asan.
Badhan kota bibhav beej tab ko byo,
Vanshbhaskar Volume three , page 2510-12.

Hari Kumar Das, whom I keep in my mind,
In prison, where should I say, "I am confined?"
The dishes are filled with dust, the hookah is formed,
Yes, whatever is not done, the fruit shall be earned.
I will not eat the fruit right away, for now,
No one will stop me, I will change all somehow.
X X X
The son of Madhav stays there and says,
Near him, an old man’s slap remains known.
The wise son of the soldier does what is said,
The king’s command, giving more respect instead.
Now sitting on the throne, sitting with great esteem,
The bed, the pillow, the work, and the food, all shall seem.
With the right timing, a place to be found,
In riches, the seed grows where prosperity is crowned.
Vanshbhasker, third volume , page 2510-12.

✻ (Foot Note 153) Appendix 20 Establishment of Kota State
According to Persian historiography, Khurram, after losing Burhanpur, reached Raungadh in Balaghat and fell ill there. His chief assistant Abdullah Khan, disappointed by many failures, became a fakir and settled in Indore to worship God. Both Golkonda and Bijapur accepted the suzerainty of the emperor and left Khurram. In such a situation, Khurram, disheartened, apologized to Jahangir. At this time, Noor Jahan also started doubting Mahabat Khan's loyalty. She started fearing his increasing power and prestige. His friendship with Shahzada Parvez became a cause of further doubt. In such a situation, Noor Jahan thought it best to make peace with Khurram. So in March 1626, on behalf of Emperor Jahangir, he wrote to Khurram that he should hand over the forts of Rohtas and Asirgarh to the emperor and present both his sons Dara and Aurangzeb in the court, then he can be pardoned and he can be made the ruler of Balaghat. Khurram accepted all the above conditions. He handed over the forts of Rohtas and Asirgarh to the royal officials, and presented both his sons, ten-year-old Dara and eight-year-old Aurangzeb in the royal court. Apart from this, he presented innumerable pearls, precious clothes, weapons and many elephants, etc. Both the children reached the court of the emperor in the summer of Samvat 1683 with gifts. Both the children were handed over to Noorjahan Begum, and Khurram was pardoned.

✻ (Foot Note 155) Appendix 20 Establishment of Kota State
Burhanpur it mukkallyo sw nides patrahu begahi
Nij dandnayak Dwarakadikadas Kooram tain kahi.
Madhav Kumar bhatij Kesav anyatar milwai kain,
Prachhann khurum hin kaddhiidhehu nisith osar paikai.
Jaane na kohu swakiyajan aru draganjan na sunai jatha,
Rachiyon prabandh nikasi rakkhu saah santati sarvatha.
Lakkhairi appan rakkhi sut Harisingh pai hitlaikai,
Aasaan bundi ke bachyo im lekh lehu likhaikai.
burhanpur yah patra bikhhat Dwarkadikadas jo,
Nrip putra Madhav tain milyo nrip isht akhi nikase jo.
Mili nissalak ubhai kahyo tihn sah sasan maribo,

Nripkai abhisht tau tumhein kachu reeti gupt nikaribo.
Hamaro kahyo subh manni jo Harisingh tein rish sanharo,
Aasaan hadunai ubbarayo kar tap lekh yehai karo.
Lakkhairi haddon ko puri nahin gaud maasan so lahen,
Ratnes ab liy des ihin lipi tehu datt banen rahein.
Tab tum nikas laho tatha hamteh tuisht nares hwahe.
Bali patt pai humein badhawo to kripa suvises hain.
Avnees prati tab lekh suhi kari ant batt likhi yehai.
Kachu bhar nahi madiy chittahu mangibo ik tokhain.
Ati namra Madhav mohi malik sarvathagin aadarayo,
Karahu main mam chain jihin man chain kaynatakaratho.
Maddi bhag yahi bises de sab mukhye ke sanmanihho,
Aasaan eh dwitiya baba jaan mosir aani ho.
Im khuram nij lipi patra appiya Dwarkadikadas ko,
Vich de Kuranarav soh ke birachyo bises bisaas ko.
Kachu vyadhi ke mis mukhye Madhav aadi door sabai kare,
Samujhai rakhshak any samuchit dheemanaai tahan dhare.
Jin ko bisaasi nishith sammat kumbh Madhav jaai kai,
So Khuram kadyo bimagg likhi sabai sumiraai kai.
Gini janm nabasut sah ko su bahori Beejapur gayo,
It taas rakhshak varg kon khiji vyaj bandhan appayo.
Arji likhi nrip kon itai kadh chann go sut sah ko,
Lipi sohi Dilliye bheji jahir mod sanhari lahko.
Vanshbhaskar, Tritya Bhag, Prishth 2523-26.

(Burhanpur was the place where the final instruction letter was sent,
To his own chief executor, Dwarkadikkadas Kooram, the message was relayed.
Madhav Kumar, nephew of Kesav, was involved in the other arrangements,
Concealed troubles arose during the night’s discussions.
No one knew of the family’s affairs, nor did the servants hear them,
The arrangements were made secretly to maintain peace in the lineage at all costs.Lakhaeri kept his own line intact, for

his son Harisingh's benefit,
The message conveyed clearly by the young one, make sure the writing is in order.Burhanpur, this letter is written by Dwarkadikadas,
The son of the king, Madhav, met the king’s intentions and words.
They both, in complete agreement, said to the king’s assistant,
"We must take action,"And keep the king’s desires a secret in the best possible way.
Our intentions were clear that Harisingh, by resolving his anger,
Should act swiftly, and the necessary writing should be carried out without delay.Lakhaeri’s family was not fully aware of the inner workings,
But now, Ratnesh has taken over, ensuring everything is managed properly.
At that point, you will make your exit, and the king will be pleased.
Having paid the tribute, we will be rewarded with special favor.
At this moment, the letter will be written and the final message conveyed.
There’s nothing I desire except the task you’ve asked of me.
I humbly request, Madhav, that you respect me completely,
So I can do what I must for peace, so my mind may remain at ease.
This is the main part, with special respect given to all key figures,
As well as to this second father, as I know I must act wisely.
In this letter from Khuram, written by himself to Dwarkadikadas,
It is shared that this task is to be trusted and confirmed.
Some troubles, the main ones concerning Madhav and others,
Were handled by explaining to the protector and appropriately guiding them.
Those who trusted the late-night meeting with Madhav’s blessings,
Thus, Khuram wrote down everything and reflected on it.
Counting the number of births, the king’s son went to Bijapur,

This message, sent by the protector’s group, worked with utmost devotion.
A petition was written to the king, with his son's hidden identity,
This writing was sent to Delhi, officially marking the end of the matter.
Vanshbhaskar, Part 3, pages 2523-26.

✻ (Foot Note 156) - <u>Appendix 20</u> Establishment of Kota State

Author‘s view- The above description of Raoratan's deeds is not found in Persian histories. The reason is that Muslim writers did not like to describe the bravery of Rajputs. The divine qualities of Rajputs like generosity, bravery, valor etc. used to irritate them. This is the reason why Khurram's arrival in Udaipur, staying in Jagmandir and exchanging turbans with Maharana Karn Singh while leaving and taking Maharana's younger brother Bhim Singh along with him are not found in Persian histories. But these things are so well supported by Khurram's turban, Rajprasasti poetry and local traditions that their truth cannot be disbelieved. In Raoratan's life story, the protection of Burhanpur and making Madhosinghji an independent king is proved by Persian histories and direct events. The only thing that can be controversial is Khurram's imprisonment under the protection of Raoratan and the behavior of Harisingh and Madhosinghji. It is possible that Madhosinghji received a separate and extensive kingdom as a reward for his valor; but when Shahjahan ordered Rao Ratan to present Harisingh in the court, and Raoratan did not send him fearing that remembering his misbehavior, the emperor might get him killed and sent a message that Harisingh has gone mad and is roaming around, the emperor confiscated 7 parganas of Bundi*. This proves that the emperor was extremely unhappy with Harisingh and extremely pleased with Madhosinghji. In fact, the story of Khurram's imprisonment by

Surajmal Mishran cannot be called baseless.- *Vanshbhaskar, third part, page 2547.

✻ (Foot Note 157) Appendix 21 Establishment of Kota State
Appachi diy shasan pahile im daay adhik Madhav kan dehu.
Kota mukhya pargana navkahin im lahi lakhan rahyo tin eh.(After giving the administration, the responsibility was further handed over to Madhav.
The main district of Kota, along with the new areas, was managed under his supervision, and everything was well maintained.)
Nrip diy tatth mahisut nattin rakkhi adhik Madhav dis raag.
Sah hukam Madhavhit samujhi su vibhav diyau tihi saban bises.
Pubbahi diy Kota Ranjayapar puni basumay ab ah pradesh.
Vansbhaskar, Tritiya Bhag, Prishth 2509 tatha 2540-41-43.(The king gave the administration, and with the support of the great officials, Madhav was entrusted with greater responsibilities.
Understanding the king's command and the wealth he bestowed, everything was handled with great care.
He was also entrusted with the area of Kota and Ranjayapar, and now he resides in this region).
Vanshabhaskara, Part III, Page 2509 and 2540-41-43 Appendix 21
✻ (Foot Note 158) Appendix 21 Establishment of Kota State
Kharjuri Grarndkhetak, Kethoni ru aava Kanvas.
Madhukargadh, Digghod rahal mili Ashtak yah gramk sah graas. (Kharjuri (village), Grandkhetak, and Kethoni along with the nearby village of Kanvas.
Madhukargarh, Digghod remained, joining with Ashtak, and this village along with others provided sustenance.)
Vansbhaskar, Third Volume, page 2543.

✻ (Foot Note 160) Appendix 21, Establishment of Kota State

Va Madhosingh pisre Rao Ratan ra ba izafa paansadi jat wa paansad sawar wa mansab do hazar wa paansadi hazar wa paansadi sawar bar-navakhta pargana Kota wa Palaitha ra dar jagir yo mukarrar gardanidand.
(And Madhosinghji, the successor of Rao Ratan, was granted an increase of five hundred in his rank and five hundred cavalrymen, along with the mansab (rank) of two thousand and an additional five hundred. The parganas of Kota and Palaitha were appointed as his jagir (land grant).-*Badshahnama*, Page 401

✻ (Foot Note 164) Appendix 21 Establishment of Kota State
Rao Madhosinghji ka tamba patra.(The copper plate of Rao Madhosinghji.) **Samvat 1674**
Maharaji Dharaji Maharaji Shri Madhosinghji Dev Vachanath Jogi Nandanath Ghela Rughnath hai. Dharti bigha 72 (anke bigha behtar) gaav 1 maal mouja Binod Khurd ki, aala ghaata ka mein loodi mein dharti bigha 31 (anke bigha aktees), bigha 41 se pr: Palayeta ko sadamat di chh so sadamay paaya jayi si. Maharaoji Shri Ji Rawratnai nai tamba patra kar diyo chh so tamba patra hai dekh mah bhi vahal kari dizo. Hukam huzoor huye maane diyo sada se. Darkhwas Chaudhari Ramhat chh dharti nakti ke aasan chadai chho sadamad paaya jasi. Mee: Vaishakh vud 14 Sambat 1674.
Maharaji Dharaji and Maharaji Shri Madhosinghji issued this decree:
The land of 72 bighas (counted as 72 bighas), in village Binod Khurd, part of the upper region, and another 31 bighas (counted as 31 bighas), making a total of 41 bighas, were granted to Palayeta for settlement. It is decreed that this land is permanently bestowed.Maharaoji Shri Ji Rawratnai issued this on a copper plate. This copper plate should be honored and made effective. Orders were issued by the royal court, and compliance is expected without fail. petition was made by Chaudhari Ramhat regarding the land of Nakti, stating that the land shall remain free from any disputes or alterations. Compliance with this decree shall ensure its validity.Date: 14th day of the waning fortnight of Vaishakh, Sambat 1674

✾ (Foot Note 167) Appendix 22 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service

A - Dar in hangama shere beshae-babang Saiyid Muzaffarkhan harawale lashkare
Firozi ke ba Madhosingh wa girohe graz-gurz bardaran wa digar bandagane dargah ...
"Paish paish lashkare Mansoor mi raft ba Madhosingh wa jamaye az gurz bardaran ...
'Awezhish namoodand ...
Wa dar asnaye jado khur Madhosingh barchha barozad.
***Badshahnama*, Jild 1, Bhaag 2, Prishth 348-50 (E. & D. Vol. VII. PP. 20-22.)** - At that time of turmoil, the roaring lion, Sayyid Muzaffar Khan, led the army of Firuzis and marched alongside Madhosingh and the group of mace-bearers (gurz-bardaran), along with other loyal servants of the court.....They moved at the front of the victorious army, with Madhosingh and the gathering of mace-bearers... They clashed violently...And in the midst of the fierce battle, Madhosingh struck with a spear upon the face."(*Badshahnama*, Volume 1, Part 2, Pages 348-50; E. & D., Vol. VII, Pages 20-22.)
B
Aayo ulatat udadhi ikk beerahu ari addhan,
Jo khal Khanjihan hanyo nirdaya badhi haddhan.
Pari dugrar bhat prachur luththi par luththi bilaggiya,
Pal raasin lahi panti bhukh pishitaasin bhaggiya.
Dussah bhajai dakshin dalan balan vijai bahi chalan chahi.
Pahunchyo hajoor Madhav prathit Lodi sir sah kitti lahi.
(*Vanshbhaskar*, Tritiya Bhag, Prishth 2595)
A hero emerged, overturning the ocean of enemies in fierce opposition,
Who mercilessly struck down the vile Khanjihan, advancing in destruction.
Numerous fierce warriors fell, one after another, scattered in defeat,
Their hunger for flesh was broken as they fled in terror and

disorder.
Unable to endure, the southern forces fled, leaving behind their ambition for victory.
Madhav, renowned for his valor, arrived at the royal court,
Carrying with him the glory of defeating the mighty Lodi.-
Vanshbhaskar, Part 3, Page 2565

✯ (Foot Note168) Appendix 22 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service

(a) Jeerapur Khairagrabad jahan teejo chechat aadhyatam,
E tray Madhav arth prathit chotho Khaljipur.
Chauhi appi hit chahi aan birudan uccchaah ur.
(Jeerapur and Khairagrabad, where the third holds great wealth,
These three, Madhav signifies, with the fourth being Khaljipur.
For all four, he sought their benefit, uplifting their titles and pride in his heart.)
(*Vanshbhaskar, Part 3, Page 2594*)
(b)Manasub diya Mugales hadd kahin teenhajari. (The Mughal emperor granted the rank of three thousand mansabdari.)
(*Vanshbhaskar, Part 3, Page 2595*)

✯ (Foot Note 169) Appendix 22 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service

- Dillipur bahudivas rahyo Madhav sevan rat,
Pratidin adhik prasann sah rakhiya natisangat.
Suta bibahan sikh pai Kota aayau puni,
Jaysinghahin jaamat chahi ru bullyo upda chuni.
(*Vanshbhaskar, Tritiya Bhag, Prishth 2595*)
Madhav stayed many days in Delhipur, devoted to service,
Daily the emperor grew more pleased and kept him in close favor.
Receiving permission to wed his daughter, he returned then to

Kota,
He chose Jay Singh as his son-in-law, selecting him with honor and care
(*Vanshbhaskar, Part 3, Page 2595*)

✯ (Foot Note 176) Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service

1-Madhosingh vald Raoratan ke dar fauje harawal Khan-e-Dauran bud.
Aj Yameen Neknam jalo andakhta jookai ra ba aabe tege aatish baar ghareeq bahre fanaa gardanid.
Baqiyat us-saif tabe sadamate jung aazmaayane zafar nishan nayawurda rajate kuhkuri namoodand.
(*Badshahnama*, Jild 1, Dvitiy Bhag, Prishth 113)-
Madhosingh, son of Rao Ratan, was positioned at the front line of the army during the battle. At that moment, the noble and well-known Yamīn, fallen into the grasp of fate, was drowned in the ocean of annihilation by the water-like blade of a fire-spitting sword. The remainder of his sword, unable to withstand the repeated blows of the war-tested, victory-bearing warriors, bent like a kukri (curved blade) in defeat
(*Badshahnama*, Volume 1, Part 2, Page 113)

2-Choon baad az navardeedan panj-shash giroh sipahiye mukhalif namoodar shudd Khan-e-Dauran Saiyid Muhammad pisare kalaan-e-khud ra ba Madhosingh ...
... wa paansad sawar Mughal bar sabeel-e-taajil taayyun namood.
... Dar in asna giroh mazkoor dar raseeda jamaye raa ba tegh-o-seena az hum guzarani-dand.- (*Badshahnama*, Jild 1, Dvitiy Bhag, Prishth 115)
When, after reconnaissance, five to six groups of enemy soldiers appeared, the commander-in-chief Sayyid Muhammad, elder son of Kalān, himself joined Madhosingh... and dispatched five hundred Mughal cavalry on an urgent mission. In the midst of this, the mentioned group arrived, and with drawn swords, they cut down all who stood in their way
(*Badshahnama*, Volume 1, Part 2, Page 115)

✯ (Foot Note 183)- Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service

1-Hukm farmoodand ke ba baheerah rafta tawakkuf guzind - wa hargah farmane wala ba siddur paayand rawanaye Kabul shavad - wa Vizier Khan wa Sardar Khan wa Zafar Khan wa Madhosingh ..... 'Mu'ayyan gashtand.

Abdul Hamid - *Badshahnama*, Dvitiya Bhag, Prishth 181.

An order was issued that they proceed outward and remain in waiting — and whenever the command from the ruler is received, they should immediately depart for Kabul. Vizier Khan, Sardar Khan, Zafar Khan, and Madhosingh were appointed for this task Abdul Hamid - *Badshahnama*, Volume 2, Page 181.

2 Badshahzaday: Walatibar Murad Bakhsh ba Sardar Khan wa Madhosingh, vald Raoratan Ratan wa deegar bandaha az Kabul aamada wa talseem atabe daulat mustasad gasht.

Abdul Hamid - *Badshahnama*, Dvitiya Bhag, Prishth 217.

(The princes: Murad Bakhsh, along with Sardar Khan and Madhosingh, son of Rao Ratan , and other officials arriving from Kabul, proceeded to receive the royal gifts and pay respects.

Abdul Hamid - *Badshahnama*, Volume 2, Page 217.)

✯ (Foot Note 184) Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service

Guzarish Khujishta Jashan Samshi Vajran

Roze Panj Shumb: Nozduham Shawwal San Hazaar wa Pindza.

Nahum (Zulqudah) Madhosingh vald Raoratan b Izaafay Paanch Sau Sawar wa Mansave Seh Hazari Do

Hazaar wa Paanch Sau Sawar Sar Bulandi Yaft.
Abdul Hamid, 2, 224.-Request for a Blessed Celebration On the fifth day of Shawwal, year 1050 (Hijri).
Madhosingh, son of RaoRatan, with an addition of 500 cavalry and a rank of 3000, totaling 2500 cavalry, achieved great elevation.
Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Page 224.

✻ (Foot Note 185) Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service
Dwaaz Dahum (Jamadi Usaniyah) Madhosingh Hada wa Izaafue Pasand Sawar b Mansabe Seh Hazari Seh Hazar Sawar Sar bar Afrakht.
Abdul Hamid, 2, 308. - On the 12th of Jumada al-Thani, Madhosingh Hada was granted an increase in rank,
being elevated from a mansab of three thousand to three thousand and three hundred cavalry.
Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Page 308.

✻ (Foot Note 189) Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service
Wa Tabligh Shud ke Madhosingh Hada az Darosaltante Lahore ba Kabul Nijad Amir-ul-Omara b Sitadand.
Abdul Hamid, Jild 2, Prishth 423.- It was reported that Madhosingh Hada traveled from the Sultanate's seat at Lahore towards Kabul, accompanied by the Amir-ul-Umara.- Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Page 423.

✻ (Foot Note 190) Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service
Karar Yaft ke Hangam Araish Safoof Mubarat Amir-ul-Omara dar Yamin wa Najabatkhan dar Shimal wa Fozay Harawal ba Chahar Sad wa Haftad Kas az Umara wa Mansabdaran ki az Gran Jumla Prast Bahadurkhan wa Raja Bittaldas wa Rao Satrasaal Hada wa Madhosingh Hada Intizam Yaft.
Abdul Hamid, Dvitiya Bhag, Prishth 484-485. -It was agreed that during the time of the assembly, the Amir-ul-Umara would be positioned on the right, Najabat Khan on the

left, with the vanguard army consisting of 470 soldiers, including nobles and mansabdars. Among the prominent leaders arranged were Bahadur Khan, Raja Bitthal Das, Rao Satrasal Hada, and Madhosingh Hada
Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Pages 484-485.

✻ (Foot Note 196) Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service

Baage Safa b Najule Muqaddas Safaiye Taza Yaft wa Har Kudam az Madhosingh Wald Ravataran Hada. Ra ke dar Balkh Boodand b Irsal Asp Bazin Nukra Muftakhar Sakhtand.

Abdul Hamid, 2, 641.in the garden of cleanliness, with the blessings of the sacred purifiers, everything was fresh, and every step was taken by Madhosingh, son of Ravataran Hada. It is said that in Balkh, he sent out selected cavalry, showing great valor.
Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Page 641.

✻ (Foot Note 197) Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service

Madhosingh Wald Ravataran Hada Ra Bamuharasat Kila wa Shamshirkhan Tareen Ra Bajmaye az Mansabdaran wa Ahadiyan wa Tufangchiyan Sawar wa Pyade b Nigahbani Shahar Guzashtand.Abdul Hamid, 2, 687. Madhosingh, son of Rao Ratan Hada, with Shamshir-Khan, proceeded along with the nobles, heirs, musketeers, and foot soldiers for the protection of the city.
Abdul Hamid, Volume 2, Page 687

✻ (Foot Note 201) Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service

Sapt nabh adri ik, abd mit hot sak.
Aai pachho su jawanes langhyo atk.
X x x
Adri nabh satt sasi, sak ghar graikai.
Pind Madhav tajyau ant khin paikai.
***Vanshbhaskar*, Triti Bhag, Prishth 2630-32.**
Seven skies and one mountain — even those can be crossed by a determined soul.

See! The brave youth has now crossed Attock (the frontier).
X X X
The seven skies, the moon — even they can be reached by one who holds fast to purpose.
But Madhav left behind his body in the final moment of battle.
Vanshbhaskar, Third Volume, Pages 2630-32.

✤ (Foot Note 207) Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service
-Kuppi bundis prati luppi bachanadikan ||
Pargana mukhya baraan Mau chhinn liya.
Dwaidilakhi Madhav hi tatt Sultaan diy ||
Vanshbhaskar, Triti Bhag, Prishth 2630. The rebellious words were silenced like a covered lamp.
The main region of the Baran district, Mau, was seized.
Ultimately, Madhav was given that place by the Sultan himself.
Vanshbhaskar, Third Volume, Page 2630.

✤ (Foot Note 208) Appendix 23 Rao Madhosinghji and his imperial service
Kota takseem samvat 1711.Sultanpur }
Itawa Thakur Lakshmandan |
Luhawad
Mangarol } Thakur Lakshmandan |
Ramgarh Colonel Todd: Volume 2, Page 55 3.
Baran — Vanshbhaskar, Third Volume, Page 2630.
Aton - Division year 1711.
Shergarh – Todd, Volume 2, Page 551.
Ghatoli } Division year 1711 and
Gagron Todd, Volume 2, Page 553.
Khairabad }
Chechat Thakur Lakshmandan.
Mandana

Naanta } Vanshbhaskar, Third Volume, Page 2543.
Todd: Volume 2, Page 553.

✻ (Foot Note 268) Appendix 23 Rao Mukundsinghji.

Taratewe Lashkar wa saf araye afwaje nukwat asar khesh pardakhta Qasim Khan ra sardare harawal sakht. Wa jamye az Rajputan umdaye nami jilaadat shaar misle Mukund Singh Hada wa Raja Sujansingh Bundela wa Amirsingh ChandRao Ratan wa Ratan Rathod wa Arjun Gaud wa Dayaldas Jhalla wa Mohansingh Hada wa deegar aajme Rajputan wa Khushhal Beg Kashgari wa Sultan Hussain wald Asalatkhan marhoom wa deegar bandahay mautwar Badshah-e wa mardume kartalab sipah dar aan fauj tayyun kard."("The well-structured army and the arrangement of the forces under the leadership of Qasim Khan at the vanguard were impressive. Among the distinguished Rajputs of the army were names like Mukund Singh Hada, Raja Sujan Singh Bundela, Amir Singh ChandRao Ratan, Ratan Rathod, Arjun Gaud, Dayal Das Jhalla, Mohan Singh Hada, and other notable Rajputs. Khushhal Beg Kashgari, Sultan Hussain, son of Asalat Khan (may he rest in peace), and other devoted and capable soldiers were also present, forming a significant part of the army.)- Alamgirnama, p. 65.

(ii) Sir J. N. Sarkar History of Orangzeb, Vol. 2, pp. 12-13

✻ (Foot Note 269) Appendix 23 Rao Mukundsinghji

"Dar e asna aj harawal graan mokabe idbaar jamye kaseer graj rajputane mutahwir makhoor jalaadatkhoo.
Najm Hama sarkasho jahilo jang ju, chu shamsheer grahin dilo sakht roo.
B bahre wuga jumlagi hamkadam, hama basta choom mojedamaam bam.
Mislay Mukund Singh Haada w Ratan Rathore w Dayaldas Jhala w Arjun Gaud w deegar umdah w rowsaay shaan qoum be baak jalaalat kesh wa tamaam atwa w sipah khesh rayte jahal w tahwurr afrasta daste talluq graj jaan bardashta b yak baargii jilo andakhtand w nakhust w topkhane Humayoon Raseeda

W jango sitej pardakhtand.
Murshid Kuli Khan……. Mardana war naqad jaanisaar namooda w gulgoonay shahadat chehre e samaadat bar afrokhht."("On this occasion, in the vanguard, a large number of Rajput warriors gathered with fervor and courage, facing an overwhelming challenge.
The star (symbolizing glory) shone on them:
All the rebellious and ignorant warriors of the battle, like swords in strong hearts, advanced in unity, like waves rising in the sea.
Like Mukund Singh Haada, Ratan Rathore, Dayaldas Jhala, Arjun Gaud, and other great leaders, they led their people with valor, displaying outstanding bravery. They bore the hardships and dangers of war without hesitation, enduring through the harshest of conditions. They confronted Humayun's artillery, faced with enemy forces, and performed acts of immense courage in battle.
Murshid Kuli Khan, a warrior of renown, demonstrated extraordinary valor, sacrificing himself for the cause and attaining martyrdom, his face shining with the glory of sacrifice.")- Alamgir Nama, pp. 66-67.

✤ (Foot Note 272) Appendix 23 Rao Mukundsinghji

(i) "Dar-e-rustakhez bala wa tijez mard grajma Mukund Singh Hada wa Sujan Singh Sisodia wa Ratan Singh Rathod wa Arjun Gaud wa Dayal Das Jhala wa Mohan Singh Hada ke graj sardarae mautbar wa umdaha wa shrayane maa lashkar boodand wa tege yabdar atishbar mujahidan zafar shivar mardanwawar sar dar jebedam kashidand wa jamae kaseer wa firkaye amboh graj naam awaran yan garohe baatil pijoh hamrahi aan salikan masalik-e-fana gajidand."("In this moment of peril and heroic deeds, Mukund Singh Hada, Sujan Singh Sisodia, Ratan Singh Rathod, Arjun Gaud, Dayal Das Jhala, and Mohan Singh Hada, along with their great leaders, met their fates heroically. Their army advanced with swords raised, and their warriors, in the midst of fierce artillery and gunfire, fought like men of valor, determined in their struggle. They were met with an overwhelming number of enemies, but despite being

surrounded, they displayed unmatched bravery. Their companions, following the path of sacrifice, and their comrades who followed the path of death, continued their fight till the end, embracing martyrdom in the face of their ultimate goal.")-—Alamgir Nama, p. 70.

(ii) "Agarchay Rajputan neej manind tege shrabdar bkaar jaar dar aamadand wa be muhabba az sar jaan dar gujashata wa ajal daston garebaan shudand b musamrat himmat kaargar wa kaar farmaaye jilaadat dar mandak fursat galba namooda jame ra jariha wa katele wa baaje ra manqoob wa maghloob b waadiye faraar andaakhtand. Chunanchay Mukund Singh Hada wa Arjun Gaud dar ain garmiye hangaam-e-kaarjaar az sare qudrat wa quwwate tamaam b hamlae sherana az ja dar aamad az sare tahavvur wa ruye tajallud afwaje aali ra taaromaar namooda az feel sawari-e-khaasa pesh guzashtand wa bajarwe tege jaan sita wa neezae seena doze haqke dilari wa dilawari. Chunanchay hakke mukaam bood baja aawurda kaaristani dar arsaye masaaf barruye kaar aawurda ke saal haay daraz jeenate safhe prayaam khwaahad bood amma chun afwaje az tartib uftada wa sardaarane be saghat b madad aanha na pardakhtand laachaar aakhirkhaar baad az numaayish dast burdah numaayaan wa taruddadaat shaayaan ba paansad tan darrahe Khudawand zameeno jama jaan ra nisaara namooda nek naami e abd avaj giraftand."

("Although the Rajputs, like the brave warriors, fought with courage, their fate was sealed with relentless struggles. Despite their unyielding spirit and efforts, they faced a grim outcome. Mukund Singh Hada and Arjun Gaud, in the midst of intense conflict, fought valiantly with all their might, like lions charging with determination, and inflicted massive losses upon the opposing forces. Despite their fierce battles, they were ultimately overwhelmed by the superior strength of the enemy. The Rajput forces, after repeated attempts, found themselves defeated, and the leaders, after showing resilience, were left with no other choice but to retreat. Eventually, after displaying their courage and perseverance, they gave up their

lives for the honor of their name and their people, leaving a legacy of bravery and sacrifice.")

—Amal-i-Saleh, Vol. 3, pp. 286 and 287.

(iii) Vanshabhaskara, Part III, p. 2667.

✤ (Foot Note 289) Appendix 23 Rao Mukundsinghji

Siddhi Shri Maharajadhiraj Shri Jagatsinghji Vachanat - Vijayram, Rai Dwarkadas, Chaudhary Ranchhod di se suprasad banchya atha ka samachar Shriji ki kripa kari bhala cha apna dijyo aparanch Shri Gordhannathji ka sevgan ka aadmi mhanke nakhe aaya cha ar prasad mala laya cha ar Shri Parmeshwarji ka biraj mein hii likhyo cha so Athmalji ki arjadasth kahaanp aai cha ji likhyo cha so Patashahi ji Mandu aawa man hii farmaai cha ar ya farmaai cha jo Bundi Kota ki raah hoi Mandu jaasya so ya baat suntaan mhare fikar hoyo ab jete Patashahi ji ka aaba jaba ki peka dekhi hoi chuke jete Shrinathji ka sevganai to Raipur rakhjyo Shrinathji hii Boramba padhraavjyo ar kadachat Patashahi ji ko aabo Mandu tahkeek hov ar Bundi raah aavta jaano to Shrinathji hii Bisalpur padhraajyo ar ashyo jatn karjyo jo kahin jahari na hov. Miti .....'Samvat 1738.

(Message from His Majesty, Maharajadhiraj Shri Jagatsinghji –
"Vijayram, Rai Dwarkadas, and Chaudhary Ranchhod, greetings. It is with Shri’s grace that I have received the news that Shri Gordhannathji's servant came here with offerings and a garland, and it is written in the presence of Shri Parmeshwarji that Athmalji’s request has been received. The King has commanded that Mandu is on the way, and hearing this news, I became worried. Now, if the King is heading toward Mandu, it is necessary to safeguard Shri Nathji's servants. The idol should be kept in Raipur, and if it is confirmed that the King will take the route to Mandu via Bundi, then the idol of Shri Nathji should be moved to Bisalpur. This should be done discreetly, so that no one finds out."
Date: Samvat 1738.)

✯ (Foot Note 332)- Appendix 24 Rao Kishoresinghji :

Mohnot madhani vhaan Kota ki chamu tain kadhi, Kaam aayo Govardhan mari dhanain ati krodh. *Vanshbhaskar, Third Volume , Prashth 2887*

Dharan main dhasike akele dheer Govardhan, Rakhyo jas bhaagi bir Kota ko adhip Ram. . *Vanshbhaskar, Third Volume , Prashth 2888*

Haade aur bhaage pai na bhaago sut Mohan ko, Khet paryo Govardhan jatton ghanen khai. *Vanshbhaskar, Third Volume , Prashth 2890*

.(Mohanot Madhani marched out with Kota's army, Govardhan acted in great anger and rage, sacrificing his life)
Govardhan, standing firm alone with courage,
(Upheld the honor of the fleeing brave soldiers of Kota, protecting Ram (the ruler of Kota. While the Hada warriors fled, Mohan's son did not retreat,
Govardhan fell on the battlefield, struck by numerous blows from the Jats)

✯ (Foot Note 354)- Appendix 24 Rao Kishoresinghji

Inscription of Jain temple of Chand Khedi Nizamat Khanpur

-Samvat 1746 varshe Mahamangalyaprad Masottamamagh maase Shuklapakshe……. Tithau Somvaare Uttarabhadrapad nakshatre ……. Khinchivaddeshah ……. Nagar Chandkhedi Badshah Shri Avarang Shahi rajya pravartamane tatsamant Chauhanvansh Hada Maharajadhiraj Maharaj Shrimadhosinghji tatputra Maharajadhiraj Shrikishoresinghji tatputra Maharaj Kumar Shriramsinghji tatha Maharajadhiraj Shrikishoresinghji rajyapravartamane Bagherwal Sah Shri Bhopati stadbharyaa Bhaktade tatputrau dvau pratham putra Sah Naanu tadbharyaa Noulade dviteeya putrah Shri Jin Sah …….
Bhaktisadhujandanavitaranasaphalikrita Shri Nijamanushyajanmaa Sah Shri Netsii tadharyaa Narang

De tatputra Sanghi Ji Shri Krishnadas tadharyaa dve prathamabharyaa Kalavati De dviteeya bharyaa Laadi pratham bharyaa yaah putrah Chiranjiv Shri Todarmal etat sarv parivar Shri Jinendra pratishtha chatuh prakarsangbhardhurandharah tathavinayachaturya vadhanyagunalpokritakalpapadapah Sanhiji ShriKrishnadasji Karavyastena Samahotsaha ShriJinendravinbapratistha - likhit Acharya Kanakamaniḥ

In the year 1746 of the Vikram Samvat, during the month of Magha in the bright half (Shukla Paksha) on a Monday, under the Uttarabhadrapada Nakshatra, the following inscription was made:

The city of Chandkhedi, in the region of Khinchivad, is associated with the royal rule of Badshah Aurang Shah. During the reign of Maharaja Shri Madhosingh of the Hada Chauhan dynasty, the inscription details the lineage and accomplishments of his descendants. Maharaja Shri Kishoresingh, his son, and Maharaja Kumar Shri Ramsingh, his grandson, continued the royal rule.

The inscription further acknowledges Bagherval Sah Shri Bhopati, his wife, their two sons, the first being Nanau, and the second, Noulade, who contributed to the spread of Jainism through their charitable acts. The inscription continues to mention their devotion to the Jain faith, detailing their family's involvement in the establishment of the temple, including the worship of Lord Jinendra, and the pivotal role of Shri Krishna Dasji, who is revered for his dedication to the establishment and maintenance of the temple and the Jain community.

The inscription concludes by attributing the spiritual achievements of the family to the wisdom and efforts of Acharya Kanakamani.

✯ (Foot Note 386) Appendix 24 Rao Ramsinghji

Umra-e-Namdar misle Ram Singh wa digar fidviyan ke bar bisaat-e-jaan feshani saabit qadam budand wa baz-e-namak haraman munafiq ke farzine kirdar-e-kazravi me namoodand bar arj rasanidand ke ey rama-e-jamal-e-khilafat awwalan dar in bajm-e-razm tamashaye

tardud-e-ma musht-e-zaeef bayad namood ke chisaan parwanawar khud ra dar atish dar andazem ba'ad az aan har che ba khatir-e-mubarak bugzard ikhtiyar ast.

(The distinguished nobles, like Ram Singh and other devoted followers, stood firm in their sacrifice on the battlefield. Meanwhile, some disloyal hypocrites, displaying treacherous behavior, highlighted their cowardice. To you, the crown of the caliphate's honor, we first present ourselves in this assembly of battle to witness how weak individuals like us throw ourselves into the fire with full devotion. After this, whatever decision your blessed heart deems appropriate is entirely up to your discretion.) Jangnama, pp. 36-37.

✾ (Foot Note 387) Appendix 24 Rao Ramsinghji

_iii **Kotapati war na badhaay ras beer aghaayo.**
Barkhat baanan bindu nivid neerad bani aayo.
Sundi beech ih samay ghaay gola lagi ghalluyo.
Ibh pogar ud jaat chakit chikkari bhaj chalyo.
Gaj bhajat kuddii bar veer gati kadh asiy daarun kalah.
Haymedh charan daarat haliy maran mandii ati kop mah.

(The Kotapati war did not progress, the hero was exhausted.
The arrows flew like drops of rain, resembling a dark cloud.
In the middle of the battle, a cannonball struck him, causing immense turmoil.
The elephant rushed forward, scattering dust and confusion.
In a fierce battle, he fell, meeting a heroic end in the chaos of the war.
With his horse's hooves, he trotted towards death, filled with great fury) Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, p. 2980-81.

Kotes binā haya chaṇḍi mahā gaya rūḍhi baṛe raya rāri rupyo." Without Kotah, valor perished; the great tradition collapsed, noble lineages were scattered, and glory faded**."** (Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part From page 2982)

"Til til dhāran ṭuṭṭi bhayo amaran agavānī." Bit by bit, endurance broke; they went to meet death."
(Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part From page 2983)

Iv "Dar āñ grarsaye rustokhej Rāv Dalīp wa Munavvar Khān wa Khāne Ālam wa Tarbiyat Khān wa Matlab Khān wa Rāmsiṅh Hāṛā wa dīgar bandāhā-ye jānfishān bakār āmadand." 2.
"At that time, fierce warriors such as Rao Dalip, Munawwar Khan, Khan-e-Alam, Tarbiyat Khan, Matlab Khan, Ramsingh Hada, and other devoted soldiers came forward to join the battle."
(From *Jangnama*, page 47)

Dareen Darogeer v Bareedane Gola v Teer Rao Dalpat Bundela v Raja Ram-Singh Hada ke har do aj Mubariz Peshgane Sher Nabard Boodand Baachandi Praj Sar Guzashtagan Pesh Qadam Harawal Mohammad Azam Shah Nakude Hayat Dar Bakhtand.(The brave commanders and soldiers of Rao Dalpat Bundela and Raja Ram-Singh Hada, who fought valiantly with cannons and arrows, were engaged in a fierce battle as champions of the battlefield. The people passed on, moving forward with determination. The leadership of Mohammad Azam Shah was evident in this moment of life and victory.).- Khafikhan, Vol. II, p. 591. - Syar-ul-Mutakhrin: p. 10.

✻ (Foot Note 424 -) Appendix 25 Maharao Bhimsinghji

i **Prāsādavaivāhayavidhiṁ didṛkṣuḥ**
Koṭādhipo bhīmanṛpobhyagacchat.
Rathāśvapattidvipanaddha sainyo
Dillīśa sammāṇita bāhuvīryaḥ.

(Desiring to witness the royal marriage ceremony,
The lord of the fort, King Bhima, approached.
His army, equipped with chariots, horses, and elephants,
Was honored by the mighty arm of the ruler of Delhi.) —
Praise of the temple of Vaidyanath, episode 5.
ii. History of Rajputana, Vol. III, p. 930.

✻ (Foot note 430) Appendix 25 Maharao Bhimsinghji

Bar jor aayas saah ko 'suni bheem bhi jut dhee bhai.
Jaysingh ke ghan roop deran jaay binnati mandai.

Kachwah kahin baraan mau ab chhodi in likh deejiyye.
Budhisanso mili saamken ikthaal bhojan keejiyye.
Tab saah o kachwah dwai man mantr ikkat jaani kai.
Kotes vah taj dees dono lekh kaggur thaanee kai.

(Upon hearing the news, Bhimsinghji became enraged and immediately sought a way to act.
Sawai Jaysingh, with his firm resolve, went to the place of the prayer and made a humble request.
The Kachwahas said, "Now, leave Baran and Maoo, and write these instructions."
"Meet with Buddhisinghji and share a meal together."
Then the Sayyids and the Kachwahas, knowing each other's intentions,
Decided to abandon their own lands and place their writings in secure custody)

- Vanshabhaskara, Quadrant, p. 3059.

✻ (Foot Note 464) Appendix 25 Maharao Bhimsinghji

Husain Ali Sayyad Wazir, Suni Eh Banti Jar.
Naam Dilawar Khan, Mughal Pilliyo Tihin Upar.
Narur Pati Gaj Singh, Sang Sahasen Dyo Saji.
Kotapati Prati Patra, Tvarit Likhway Gabb Taji.
Maarhu Kalijkharnaah Mard, Khan Dilawar Sang Rahi.
Jaisinh Jer Pichhe Karhin, Yah Kari Jer Kalij Ahi.(Husain Ali Sayyad, the minister, heard this war cry.
His name was Dilawar Khan, who was above the Mughal children.
The lord of Narur, Gaj Singh, with his army, prepared for battle.
A letter was quickly sent to the lord of Kota, urging action.
"I will strike down the brave man, staying with Khan Dilawar."
"While Jai Singh is behind, this act of bravery will defeat him.")-Vanshabhaskara, Fourth Part, p. 3077.

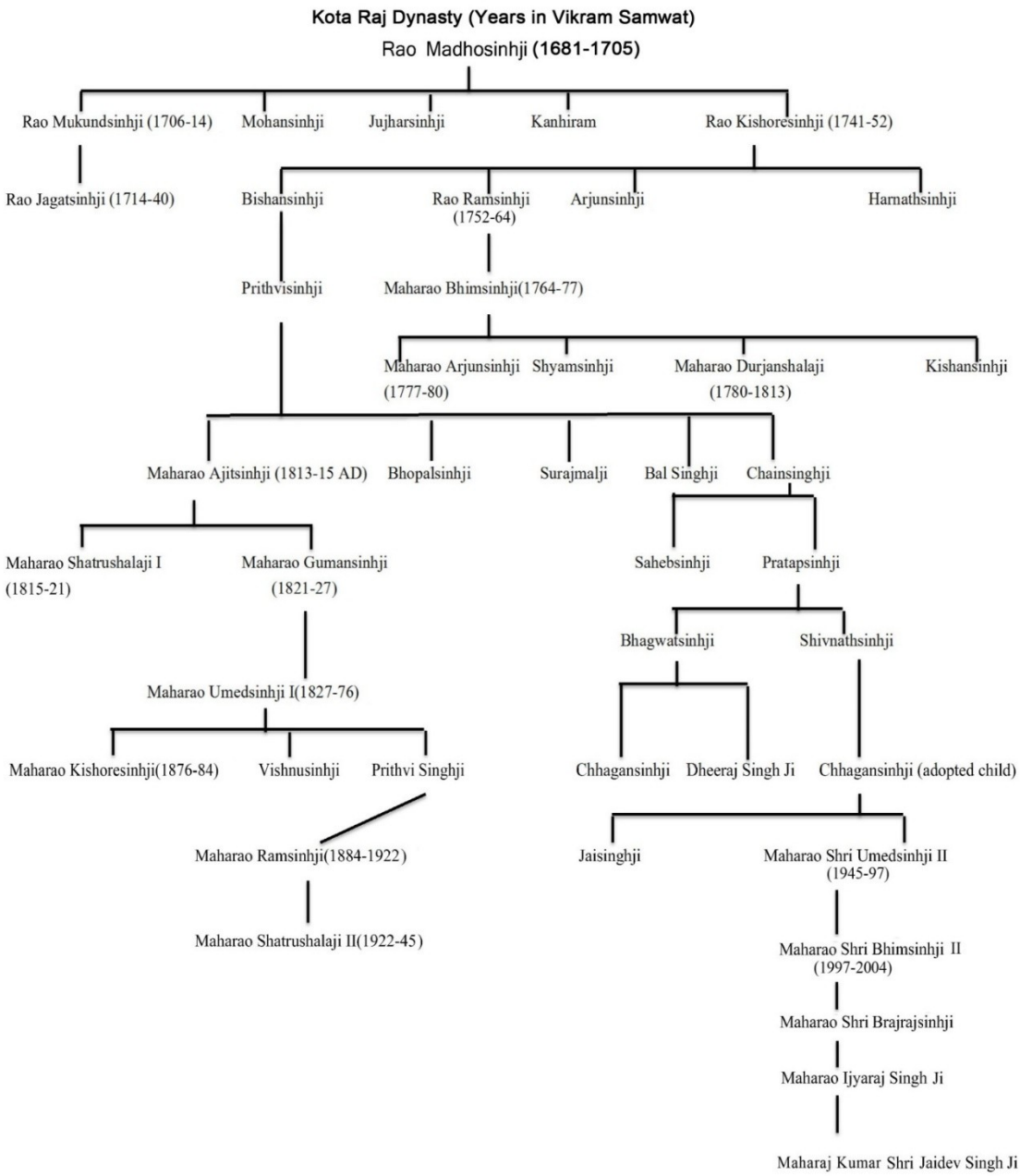
✻ (Foot Note 465) Appendix 25 Maharao Bhimsinghji

Husn-Ali-Khan dar Tahreek-e-Asbab-e-Shorish dar Amada ba Maharao Bhim Singh,
Ahado Paeman Darmiyan Avard ke baad Tambih

Salamsingh Zamindar Bundi wa Insiraame Kaare Nizam-ul-Mulk wa Rutbaye Walaaye Maharajgi bi Rasad wa baad Maratabe Maharaja Ajitsinghji Marta-e-o Barhamaan Rajaha Faik Bashad.
Mansabe Haft Hazari Haft Hazar Sawar wa Mahi Maratib Dadah Ora wa Raja Gaj Singh Narwari wa Dilawar Ali Khan wa Ghairah ra ba Fauj-e-Pandrah Hazar Sawar Jarar Taamyun Kard ke Tambih wa Ikhraj Salamsingh ra Dast Awez Sakhta az Ahwal Nizam-ul-Mulk Khabargiran Bashand.
(Husn Garli Khan, in his record of the causes of unrest, mentioned an agreement reached with Maharao Bhim Singh. The agreement stipulated that after reprimanding Salamsingh, the zamindar of Bundi, and resolving the matter of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the title of "Maharaja" with high prestige would be granted to Bhim Singh. Furthermore, he would receive the honors and status equivalent to Maharaja Ajit Singh, ensuring a higher rank among other rulers.The rank of Haft Hazari (seven thousand) with command over seven thousand cavalry and monthly honors (Mahi Maratib) were awarded to him. Raja Gaj Singh of Narwar, Dilawar Ali Khan, and others were mobilized with a strong force of fifteen thousand cavalry. Their primary task was to reprimand and expel Salamsingh while closely monitoring the activities of Nizam-ul-Mulk.) - Khafikhan: Vol. 2, p. 851.

✻ Foot Note 472 Appendix 25 Maharao Bhimsinghji
- i- Muni hay sattarū ikk sak, (1777 vi.) Jetharū pūrṇam dīh.
Partho Dilawar Khan ran sahit Bhim Gaj Singh.
Māri hazāran Bhim jimi, paryo Bhim Chauhān.(The sage was seventy-one years old, (1777 V.S.) on the full moon day of Jeth.
The battle was fought by Dilawar Khan along with Bhim Singh and Gaj Singh.
Thousands were killed, like Bhim Chauhan, who too fell.)-—
Vanshabhaskara, Part IV, p. 3079.

ii-Darahma garmi darogeer Dilawar Ali Khan ki Dilawarana feel sawarah muqabile fauj kol jameyat kam mushahida namudah b kamal jurmat raseeda wood golaye bandook bado raseed w kaare us sakhta shud w fauje baraha w Dost Muhammad Afghan zameedar Rohilla roo b hijimat guzashat.
Raja Bhim w Raja Gaj Singh aare farar bar khud hamwar namudah badastur tahawwur pesghan jaan sipare Hindustan ba Rajputane jaanisaar az feel w aspan farod gramdand w shamshir w sipar dar dast girafta hamla yawar gardida karbar harawal w deegar fauj tang aawarda dade dilawari mi dada marhamatkhān bahadur safay nawarda az jaanibe chap bahadurana baro sakht sharavarda chunah shart tahawwari w kaar burd ki har do Rajput naami baad taruddade numayaan ki jaaye sad grafareen dasht.
Ba qareeb chahar sad Rajput deegar w bajay jamaahdaran baraha majmuye chahar w panch hazar sawar w piyada alfe teg w tamye teer w sinane Mughalane sher nabard gardidand.(In the intense heat, Dilawar Ali Khan's heroic cavalry, with its strong forces and well-equipped artillery, faced the opposing army. The battle was fierce, with cannonballs, muskets, and the sound of swords clashing. Despite fierce fighting, the Rohilla forces under Dost Muhammad Khan had to retreat.Raja Bhim and Raja Gaj Singh, however, did not flee and remained on the battlefield. They fought fiercely, surrounded by their Rajput soldiers and warriors, armed with swords, shields, and other weapons. Despite the difficult situation, they pressed on, showing great valor in the face of adversity.After a long struggle, the Rajputs, including other commanders and about 400 to 500 soldiers, kept up the fight, engaging in fierce combat with the Mughal forces, which included cavalry and foot soldiers armed with swords and bows. The battle was a true test of courage and determination, and the Rajputs fought with unparalleled bravery.)- **Khafikhan : Vol. 2, p. 880 ,** Appendix 25


Kota Raj Dynasty (Years in Vikram Samwat)
Rao Madhosinhji (1681-1705)
Rao Mukundsinhji (1706-14)
Mohansinhji
Jujharsinhji
Kanhiram
Rao Kishoresinhji (1741-52)
Rao Jagatsinhji (1714-40)
Bishansinhji
Rao Ramsinhji (1752-64)
Arjunsinhji
Harnathsinhji
Prithvisinhji
Maharao Bhimsinhji(1764-77)
Maharao Arjunsinhji (1777-80)
Shyamsinhji
Maharao Durjanshalaji (1780-1813)
Kishansinhji
Maharao Ajitsinhji (1813-15 AD)
Bhopalsinhji
Surajmalji
Bal Singhji
Chainsinghji
Maharao Shatrushalaji I (1815-21)
Maharao Gumansinhji (1821-27)
Sahebsinhji
Pratapsinhji
Bhagwatsinhji
Shivnathsinhji
Maharao Umedsinhji I(1827-76)
Maharao Kishoresinhji(1876-84)
Vishnusinhji
Prithvi Singhji
Chhagansinhji
Dheeraj Singh Ji
Chhagansinhji (adopted child)
Maharao Ramsinhji(1884-1922)
Jaisinghji
Maharao Shri Umedsinhji II (1945-97)
Maharao Shatrushalaji II(1922-45)
Maharao Shri Bhimsinhji II (1997-2004)
Maharao Shri Brajrajsinhji
Maharao Ijyaraj Singh Ji
Maharaj Kumar Shri Jaidev Singh Ji